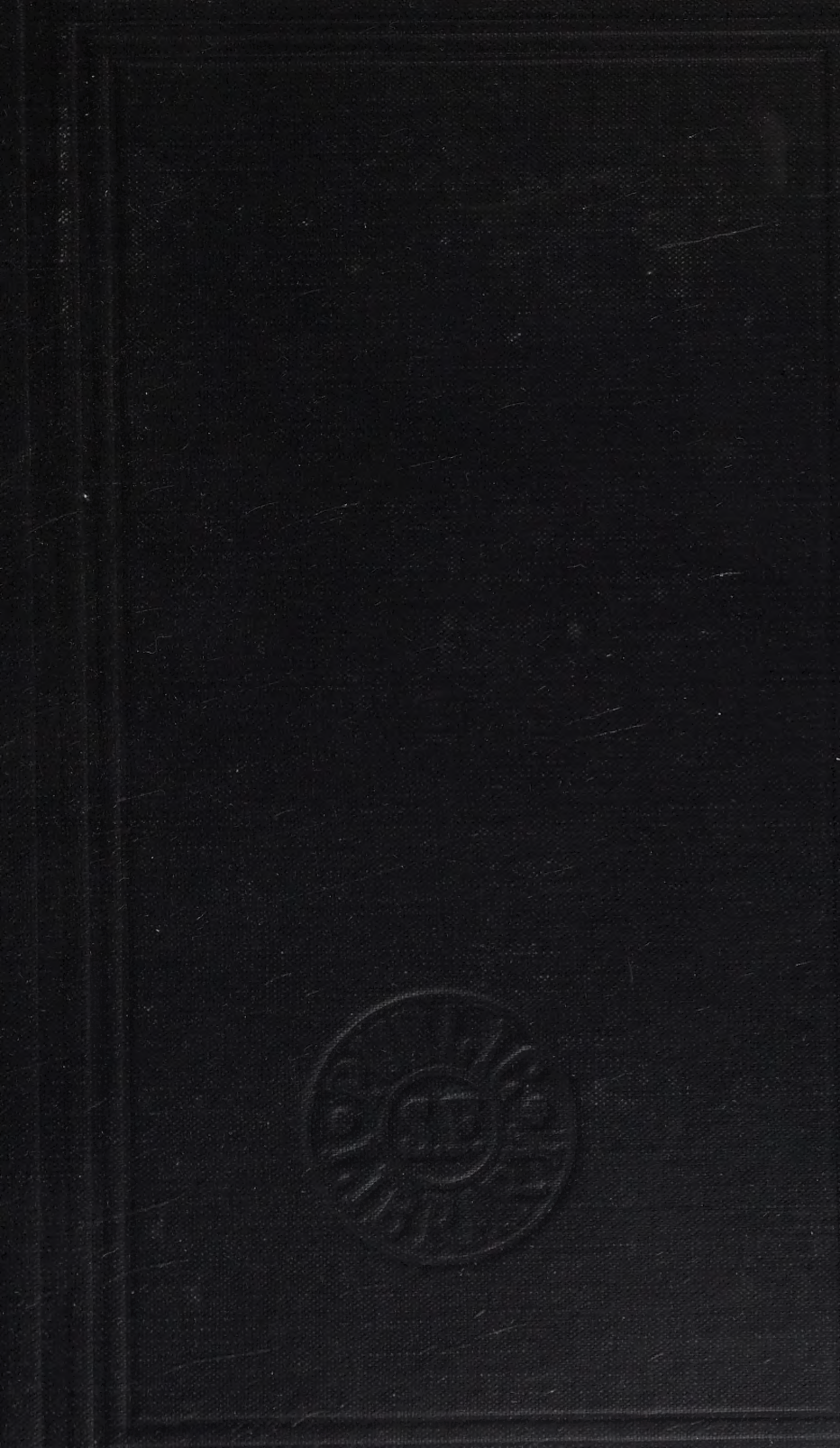

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MAJ. GEN. HENRY KNOX

H Knox

COLLECTIONS

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SECOND SERIES, VOLUME I

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GENERAL HENRY KNOX

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

GENERAL HENRY KNOX.

A Memoir read before the Maine Historical Society, November 16, 1881.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

I HOLD in my hand for presentation to the Society, a time-stained pamphlet, entitled "A Catalogue of Books, Imported and to be Sold by Henry Knox, at the London Book-Store, a little Southward of the Town-House, in Cornhill, Boston, 1772." The pamphlet is interesting, not only as showing the literature of that period, but as almost the earliest introduction to the public of a young man, then unknown to fame, but who was destined to be connected with many important events in the history of our country; who devoted the best years of his life to the establishment of independence, liberty and social order; who was honest, generous and self-sacrificing, and who, as the intimate friend and companion of Washington, strengthened the hand and encouraged the heart of the great Commander through all the trying scenes of the Revolution.

The recent visit of our Society to the home of Knox in Maine, and the more recent commemoration of the siege, in which he was so prominent an actor, renders a brief review of his life and character not inappropriate to the present occasion.

Knox was born in Boston, on the twenty-fifth day of July, 1750. The place of his birth, an obscure house in Sea street, is still standing. His paternal ancestors were of the sturdy Scotch-Irish stock, which, mingling with that of Saxon origin, has diffused itself with a vigorous growth throughout the whole country. It was the race to which John Stark, Robert Fulton, Calhoun, Houston, Andrew Jackson, Horace Greely, and a host of men, alike famous in the field and in the forum, have boasted with pride that they belonged.

William Knox, his father, was a shipmaster, and died abroad. The care of a widowed mother and of an infant brother thus devolved on young Knox, at the age of twelve years, just as he had completed his grammar-school course. From the recollection of his attentive and affectionate solicitude for these relatives he derived the highest satisfaction in after life. Upon the death of his father he obtained employment with the principal booksellers of the town. Their store was frequented by British officers, with whom he became on friendly terms. From their acquaintance and conversation he acquired a taste for military science, which was improved by reading. Possessing an inquisitive mind and a desire for knowledge he availed himself of the advantages around him, and soon became conversant not only with general literature, but with the French language, in which so many standard works upon the art of war have been written. He was also fond of studying the illustrious examples of antiquity in the Lives of Plutarch, and of other writers whose pages are equally rich with the spoils of time. His course gave early presage of eminence. Before reaching majority he was chosen an officer of the grenadiers, a company distinguished for its martial appearance and the precision of its evolutions. His proficiency in the theory and practice of the military art gave him a commanding position among the young men of Boston. When the Boston Massacre took place Knox was early at the scene. His account of it appears in the published report of the trial. He endeavored to keep the crowd away, and remonstrated with Captain Preston for allowing the soldiers to fire upon unarmed citizens.

Soon after Knox became established in business on his own account, the low mutterings of the thunder which preceded the storm of the Revolution began to be heard. The burning words of Otis, that "great incendiary of New England," as he was called, against *writs of assistance* and other manifestations of British aggression, had already inspired the souls of his hearers in Faneuil Hall, and were re-echoed by Patrick Henry in Virginia, by his defiant resolutions against the Stamp Act, and his startling cry of "Give me Liberty or give me Death!" At this early period, notwithstanding his associations, the heart of Knox was deeply engaged in the cause of his country. He felt the

cause of the colonies to be a righteous one, and to its vindication he yielded every consideration. When hostilities became imminent he hesitated not a moment what course to pursue. The fair prospect of increasing wealth, and even the endearing claims of family and friends had no power to divert the determined purpose of his mind. Ere long the Boston Port Bill put an end to the prosperity of the town, and with it the prosperity of the young bookseller. "At that time," says a contemporary, "Knox's bookstore was a great resort for British officers and Tory ladies, and it was long remembered as one of great display and attraction for young and old, and as a fashionable morning lounging-place." Behind its counter Knox first met Nathaniel Greene, afterward his compatriot during the Revolution. Behind its counter, too, his fine person, engaging manners, and rare intelligence, first attracted the attention of Lucy Fluker, a young lady of high intellectual endowments, fond of books, and especially the books sold by Knox, to whose shelves she had frequent recourse. Their acquaintance, thus formed, soon ripened into mutual love, and resulted in a happy union.

Miss Fluker was the grand-daughter of General Samuel Waldo, whose name is inseparably connected with the history of eastern Maine. Her father, "a high-toned loyalist, of great family pretensions," and royal secretary of the Province, opposed the engagement, as indeed did all the young lady's connections, who were tories, and had for her more advantageous matrimonial prospects. They regarded her as ruined in future social esteem and personal happiness, by wedding one who had espoused the cause of rebellion. The consequences were depicted to her in lively colors. She was told that while the other members of her family were in the enjoyment of luxury, she would be eating the bread of poverty and dependence; that there could be but one issue to the conflict; and that the power of Great Britain, exerted against the feeble colonists, would be overwhelming. Disregarding all these warnings, Miss Fluker, who had fully adopted the views of her future husband, resolved to follow the fortunes of him to whom her heart had been given. When the great political change took place, many of her family and relatives were in exile and obscurity, while she, the wife of the humble bookseller, was the center of the first social circle in

America. Their marriage, which, from the opposition alluded to, wanted little of an elopement, took place on the sixteenth day of June, 1774. The stirring events which soon occurred gave little opportunity for domestic enjoyment. Boston was held by an armed force; private property received slight protection, and the store of Knox, with many others, was broken into, and pillaged.

From this eventful period the career of Knox belongs to his country, and presents him in three several and separate relations to society. We shall survey him in these different relations. We shall see him first as the soldier, of high military attainments, then, after a series of successes, as a statesman, in the councils of Washington, organizing an important department of the government, and finally, as the beloved and respected citizen of our own state, passing the closing years of his life in the retirement of his own home.

The battle of Lexington was a signal of war. Regular forces were at once raised by the Provincials, and an army of twenty thousand men soon appeared in the environs of Boston, blocking up the enemy from outward intercourse, except by sea. Great inducements to follow the royal standard had been held out to Knox, but he disregarded them all, and embarked heart and hand in the patriot cause. Not intimidated by the proclamation of General Gage, which denounced the penalty of martial law on all who should be found aiding or abetting such unpardonable rebels as Hancock and Adams, or who dared to leave Boston without permission, Knox quitted the town in disguise, accompanied by his wife, who had concealed in her cloak the sword with which the future general was to win his subsequent renown. This was on the evening preceding the battle of Bunker Hill. Repairing at once to the headquarters of General Ward at Cambridge, he offered himself as a volunteer, and participated in that memorable conflict. The transition from the bookseller to the soldier was an easy one. Knox had made himself master of elementary tactics, and brought to the army a valuable stock of military knowledge. But the department, which most attracted his attention, was that in which the Americans were most wanting—the department of engineers. The only officer who possessed adequate skill in planning and constructing works of defence

for the various camps around the beleaguered town was Colonel Gridley, a veteran of the old French war, but too infirm for this. Knox immediately supplied his place. His skill and activity won the confidence of Washington only three days after the latter had assumed command of the army, and inaugurated the friendship, which ever remained unbroken between these two eminent men.

Great gloom and despondency prevailed during the autumn of 1775. The term of enlistments was approaching a close, nearly six months had elapsed since the battle of Bunker Hill, and yet nothing had been done, decisively, to change the relations in which the belligerents stood toward each other. Our army was without provisions, without pay, without clothing. Desertions became frequent, and new quotas were tardily raised. The commander-in-chief was filled with the deepest anxiety. In a letter to Joseph Reed, he wrote: "Such a dearth of public spirit and such want of virtue; such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and I pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. . . Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command." To increase his embarrassments, there was a deficiency of powder and artillery. Without further supplies the seige of Boston could not be much longer continued.

In this time of his troubles and perplexities, no one drew nearer to Washington than Knox. Realizing the necessity of heavy ordnance, Knox conceived the desperate expedient of obtaining it from Ticonderoga on the Canadian frontier, and volunteered his services for that purpose, an offer which Washington gladly accepted. This was the turning point in Knox's military career. He was supposed to possess qualities of a high order; now was the time to prove them. His manly bearing and sound judgment had inspired confidence; here was the occasion to justify it. Early in the winter he commenced the difficult undertaking almost unattended, relying solely for success on such aid as he might procure from the thinly scattered inhabitants of the dreary region through which he had to pass. Every obstacle of season, roads and climate, was surmounted by his determined

perseverance; and a few weeks, scarcely sufficient for a journey so remote, saw his return to camp with a long train of sledges drawn by oxen, bringing more than fifty cannon besides other munitions of war. The zeal which he had displayed in his wintry expedition across frozen lakes and through snowy forests, and the intelligence with which his commission was fulfilled, elicited high encomiums from Washington. The command of the artillery, of which he had thus laid the foundation, was at once bestowed upon him. In this command he continued until peace was declared, and his name is connected with all subsequent movements of the main army.

Among the incidents that occurred during his Canadian expedition, was his accidental meeting with the unfortunate Major André, whose subsequent fate was so deeply deplored by every person of sensibility in both countries. André had been taken prisoner in Canada by Montgomery, and was then under parole. Chance compelled the two young men to pass a night in the same cabin on the banks of Lake George, and even in the same bed. There were many points of resemblance in their personal history. Their ages were alike; each had renounced the pursuits of trade for the profession of arms; each had made a study of his new occupation, and their literary tastes and habits were similar. Much of the night was consumed in conversation, and the intelligence and refinement displayed by André left an indelible impression upon the mind of Knox. The respective condition of the two was not mutually communicated until just as they were about to separate. A few years later, when Knox was called upon to join in his condemnation to death, the memory of this interview with the young British officer gave additional bitterness to that painful duty.

With the cannon supplied by Knox, Washington invested Dorchester Heights, which commanded both Boston and the enemy's ships in the harbor. Nothing now remained for the British but to abandon the town or to dislodge the Provincials. General Howe chose the former alternative, and on the seventeenth of March, in less than two months after Knox returned from Ticonderoga, the King's troops, with many loyal Americans, embarked for Halifax. Among the latter were the relatives of

Mrs. Knox, who subsequently went to England, and she never saw them again.

Soon after the delivery of Boston, the greater part of the American forces occupied New York, upon which an attack was expected to be made. In the protection of that city the engineering skill of Knox was put in requisition, and his artillery were stationed on the surrounding hills. But in a few months, after general exultation at the Declaration of Independence had been manifested, the battles of Long Island and of White Plains, so disastrous to our arms, the evacuation of New York and the retreat into the Jerseys, rendered the prospects of the American cause more doubtful than at any period of the war. The year 1776 and its campaign were closing amidst universal despondency; and Knox, with his brave companions, was compelled to lament that the equipments of our army were inadequate to the heroic spirit of its soldiers. In this crisis, when hope had almost yielded to despair, and Washington trembled for his country's freedom, Knox, almost alone of all his generals, remained unshaken, and by cheering words and encouraging action revived the drooping spirits of the commander-in-chief. It was then that the boldest stroke of the Revolution was made. The American forces crossed the half-frozen Delaware under a bitter storm and surprised and defeated the enemy at Princeton; thus changing the entire aspect of affairs, and reviving the depressed courage of the colonists. Knox superintended the passage of the Delaware. The night was dark and tempestuous; the drifting ice drove the boats out of their course, and threatened them with destruction. The value of his services on this occasion was recognized in complimentary terms. A commission from Congress, creating him a general officer, second only to Washington in command, soon followed.

After the battle of Princeton the Americans retired to winter quarters at Morristown. Such was their destitution, that many of the soldiers were without shoes and their naked feet marked each step over the frozen ground with blood. Knox, however, did not remain inactive during the winter months. He was sent on a mission to the eastern states to arrange for the casting of cannon, and the establishment of laboratories. When the spring

opened, we find him at West Point, associated with Greene in planning defences on the Hudson.

The principal events in which the main army participated during 1777, were the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, both of which proved adverse to our cause. These disasters were counterbalanced by General Stark's successes in Vermont, followed by the surrender of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga. At the close of the year, Washington was forced to place his army at Valley Forge, where Knox also passed the winter, amidst the hardships and sufferings of that sad encampment.

Brighter prospects dawned the following year. Early in May intelligence reached Congress that our Commissioners at Paris had negotiated treaties of alliance and commerce with France. This measure induced the British to abandon Philadelphia, and to concentrate their forces at New York. With a reorganized army, Washington started in pursuit, and intercepted them at Monmouth, where a battle took place. The day was intensely hot, and many of the soldiers perished from fatigue alone. Although the result of the engagement could hardly be called a victory, it was a decided advantage in our favor. The British troops retreated by night, and Washington, crossing the Hudson, resumed his former position at White Plains. "In the hard-fought contest of Monmouth," wrote Dr. Thacher, "no officer was more distinguished than Knox. In the front of the battle he was seen animating his soldiers and directing the thunder of their cannon. His skill and bravery were so conspicuous, that he received the particular approbation of the commander-in-chief, in general orders issued by him the day succeeding the battle, in which he says that 'the enemy have done us the honor to acknowledge that no artillery could be better served than ours.'" The great exertions of Knox on that occasion seriously affected his health.

In the summer of 1780, the Count de Rochambeau, with a French army, arrived at Newport, and Knox, with Washington and Lafayette, visited the Commander, to arrange future operations. While returning from this interview, the treason of Arnold was discovered. Knox formed one of the board of general officers who condemned Major André to death as a spy. This sentence, which the usages of war compelled them to pronounce,

was a duty especially abhorrent to him, since their pleasant interview a few years before. It is said that such was Washington's sympathy for the unfortunate prisoner, that his hand could scarcely command the pen when signing the warrant for execution.

During the following winter, the destitute condition of our army caused great solicitude, and Knox was sent to the northern colonies to urge forward money, clothing, and other supplies. In the spring, however, an active campaign was planned, which, by the aid of our allies, it was hoped would be decisive. The primary object was New York, but subsequently Washington marched his troops to the southward, and co-operated with the French, against Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. The surrender of the latter, and the siege of Yorktown, the last brilliant acts of our revolutionary war, to which no one contributed more essentially than Knox, closed his career as a general.

With reference to our permanent interests, the period between the peace of 1783 and the adoption of the constitution five years later, was more critical than that of the war itself, oppressive and exhausting as that has been. The states were without a government — unable to command respect abroad, or to secure prosperity at home. An utter want of power to provide for the payment of debts, caused the recommendations of Congress to be treated with neglect; foreign creditors became clamorous, and discontent prevailed among our own people. Unless timely and effectual remedies could be provided, an alarming crisis was at hand. It will be borne in mind that up to this time the several colonies stood relatively to each other as independent nations, and in some instances bordering states pursued a policy of mutual jealousy, if not of hostility. To harmonize these conflicting elements, and to form a compact which should consolidate thirteen separate governments under one, at the same time preserving their individuality; making them "distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea," was a work of no easy attainment. The apprehensions of Knox were freely and feelingly expressed upon the matter. Writing to Washington, he says, "There must be a general government of unity, as the local legislatures most naturally and necessarily tend to retard any other kind. Something is wanting which must speedily be supplied, or we shall be

involved in all the horrors of failure, and of civil war, without a prospect of its termination." And again, to the same, "Expedients to brace up the present defective Confederation, so as just to keep us together, while it would prevent those exertions for a national character which are essential to our happiness, would have the bad effect of assisting us to creep on, in our present miserable condition, without the hope of a generous constitution, that should at once shield us from the effects of faction and despotism." In a letter from Washington, three years before the adoption of the Constitution, desiring his views upon a proper form of government, Knox replied in part as follows: —

It would be prudent to form the plan of a new house before we pull down the old one. The subject has not been sufficiently discussed, as yet, in public, to decide precisely on the form of the edifice. It is out of question that the foundation must be of republican principles, but so modified and wrought together, that whatever shall be erected thereon should be durable and efficient. I speak entirely of the Federal Government, or, which would be better, *one Government*, instead of an association of Governments. Were it possible to effect a General Government of this kind, it might be constituted of an Assembly or lower House, chosen for one, two, or three years; a Senate, chosen for five, six, or seven years; and the Executive, under the title of Governor-General, chosen for the term of seven years, but liable to an impeachment of the lower House, and triable by the Senate, and a Judiciary, to be appointed by the Governor-General during good behavior, but impeachable by the lower House, and triable by the Senate. The laws passed by the General Government, to be obeyed by the local governments, and, if necessary, to be inforced by a body of armed men to be kept for the purposes which should be designated. All national objects to be designed and executed by the General Government, without reference to the local Governments. This rude sketch is considered as the Government of the least possible powers to preserve the confederated Governments. To attempt to establish less will be to hazard the existence of republicanism, and to subject us either to a division by the European powers, or to a despotism arising from high-handed commotions. May heaven direct us to the best means for the dignity and happiness of the United States!

Soon after the communication of this plan, which shadows forth the form of government subsequently adopted, delegates from the different states met in Convention, and with Washington as presiding officer, prepared the present federal constitution, which was at once submitted to the people for ratification. This

instrument, although not deemed perfect by Knox, or probably by any of its other ardent friends, was regarded as the best that could be hoped for in the discordant condition of the country, and as presenting the only alternative to anarchy and civil war. There is a tradition that when Washington was about to sign the document, he rose from his seat, and after a short pause, solemnly pronounced these words, "Should the states reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that an opportunity will never again be offered to concert another in peace — the next will be drawn in blood." Similar views were expressed by Knox to Lafayette. "From my soul," he writes, "I wish the propositions God-speed, but in desiring their adoption, I would not have you believe that I think them all perfect. There are several things that I confess I could wish to see altered, but I apprehend no alterations can be effected peaceably, and that such an agreement as has been entered into, could not again be produced even by the same men."

The ratification of nine states was necessary to give the Constitution validity and effect, and a year elapsed before the requisite number was attained. The action of the states was anxiously awaited by Knox, who employed his efficient influence to secure the adoption of the new form of government.

It was provided that the Constitution should become operative on the fourth of March, 1789. Such was the apathy concerning it, that a *quorum* of the two houses of Congress did not assemble until over a month later. The first business of their session was to count the votes for President, all of which, sixty-nine in number, were given for Washington.

Immediately after his inauguration, the President proceeded to form his cabinet. At the head of the State department, he placed Jefferson, then about returning from France, where he had filled the office of Minister with much credit to himself and to his country. Alexander Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, the post of Attorney-General was given to Edmund Randolph of Virginia, and Knox was continued as Secretary of War, which station he had held under the Confederation. With such officers, having as a constitutional adviser and as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Jay, and as a leader in the House, James Madison, who had labored in the Federalist

in support of the new fabric, did the first administration of Washington commence.

The vigor and activity of mind which distinguished Knox as a general, were not wanting in him as a statesman. Washington, who had so often depended upon his services for support in war, found his counsel and advice of no less value in peace. The framing of a militia system received his early attention, and in a policy to be pursued toward the various Indian tribes he was guided by enlarged and liberal views. During the first year of the new administration, the Secretary of the Treasury had recommended a national bank, as of great utility in regulating the finances of the country, and in facilitating the support of our public credit. The cabinet was divided on the subject, Jefferson and Randolph opposing it as unconstitutional, while Knox and Hamilton were in its favor. The opinion of the latter was sustained by the President, and resulted in the establishment of the Bank of the United States, with a capital of eight million dollars.

While the new government was rapidly acquiring strength and respect, the French Revolution broke out, and war between England and France was declared. In its earliest stages this revolution was hailed throughout America as a joyful event, and as affording a presage of the happiest results in the cause of freedom. The sanguinary acts which followed, and the ferocious temper shown by the leaders, somewhat modified such sentiments, but many were disposed to make common cause with France in what they regarded the struggle of a people for liberty against the combined despots of Europe. Washington, however, determined to maintain the neutrality of this country, and his position was unanimously sustained by the cabinet, who agreed that a minister from the new republic should be received. On the subject of qualifying this reception, they were divided. Hamilton and Knox opposed an absolute recognition, upon the ground that no fixed government existed in France. The result established the soundness of their views.

Jefferson and Knox seem to have disagreed about many of the vexed questions which came before the cabinet. But toward the close of the administration they were found in unison upon a most important measure. We were then destitute of a navy,

and outrages by Mediterranean pirates upon the persons and property of our citizens, together with the importance of providing defences for our extensive sea-coast, impressed Knox with the necessity of a naval force. By the support of Jefferson, his efforts were successful and our navy, which owes its origin to Knox, has ever since been identified with the glory and fame of the country. Knox had charge of the new department, performing its duties, while acting as Secretary of War.

At the close of the year 1794, when Knox had advanced beyond middle life, the concerns of his increasing family and the imperious claims of private interest, determined him to retire from public service. The salary attached to his office was only twenty-five hundred dollars, which the expenses of his generous hospitality far exceeded. The President, who had desired him to remain until the end of his own official term, reluctantly accepted his resignation. "I cannot suffer you," wrote Washington, "to close your public service, without expressing, in addition to the satisfaction which must arise in your own mind from a conscious rectitude, my most perfect persuasion that you have deserved well of your country. My personal knowledge of your exertions, while it authorizes me to hold this language, justifies the sincere friendship which I have ever borne for you, and which will accompany you in every situation of life."

Knox left the seat of government with every mark of esteem and confidence. At Boston, he was honored by a public dinner, and similar demonstrations awaited his arrival at Thomaston, which he had selected for his future home.

We shall now glance at him in the last stage of his life, when he appears as a private citizen of our state, living upon his own extensive estates, honored by his fellow citizens, and contributing to the prosperity and happiness of all around him. It was a position to which he had often turned a wistful eye throughout his agitated and anxious career, and which possessed his thoughts even amid the stern duties of the field, and in the perplexities of the cabinet.

Through her mother, who, as has been before remarked was a daughter of General Waldo, Mrs. Knox inherited a share in that large tract of territory known as the "Waldo Patent," which comprised portions of what are now the counties of Penobscot,

Waldo and Knox. The remaining shares General Knox succeeded in obtaining by purchase. To the cultivation and improvement of this estate he applied his whole energies immediately upon retiring from public life, and established his residence near the thriving village of Thomaston. Here he erected a spacious mansion, three stories in height, with corresponding out-buildings, all in the style of a French *chateau.* The mansion was situated on a swelling slope, sheltered by the forest in the rear, and commanding a magnificent view of ten miles down the Georges river, a river which is navigable for the largest ships. Although local tradition has greatly exaggerated the extent of this house, yet with its cupola, balconies and piazzas, added to the surrounding walks, well-kept lawns, tufted trees and shrubbery, the whole premises were unequalled for beauty and symmetry in New England. In dimensions, architecture and ornaments, the expansive character of the owner was clearly manifested.

"In this charming spot, to which he gave the name of Montpelier, in the society of his wife and children, and of the many distinguished visitors, who from time to time partook of his hospitality, Knox probably enjoyed a larger degree of happiness than he had ever before known." Mrs. Knox, who was truly his congenial spirit, was also well satisfied to exchange scenes of gayety and fashion for domestic life. She is described as having been, even in her latter days, when upward of sixty, a remarkably fine-looking woman, with brilliant black eyes, and a blooming complexion. Her mind, we are told, was of a high order, and her influence upon all with whom she came in contact was very decided. The deference of General and Mrs. Washington, and the homage paid to her intellectual superiority by many persons of talent and judgment, show this influence to have been great and well-founded. In society she was commanding, and gave a tone to the manners of the times. During the residence of General Knox at New York, their house was the scene of a liberal hospitality. Mr. Griswold, in his "Republican Court," says, "she was recognized as a lively and meddlesome, but amiable, leader of society, without whose co-operation it was believed by many beside herself that nothing could be properly done in the drawing-room, or the ball-room, or any place where fashionable men and women sought amusement."

During the residence of Knox at Montpelier, he constantly received guests from far and near, who came to make their obeisance of respect and regard to the warrior and patriot. Writing to his friend General Henry Jackson in 1795, he says, "We had a small company on the Fourth of July of upward of five hundred people!" * On this occasion, which was soon after his arrival, a general invitation had been given to all the surrounding inhabitants to partake of the festivities of an old-fashioned house-warming. Brilliant parties from Philadelphia and other cities, and frequently from abroad, enlivened the summer, and the halls resounded with music and conversation. At this time, America was the asylum for many distinguished foreigners, driven here by the French Revolution. Among them were Louis Philippe, afterward King of France, and his brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, together with the Duke de Liancourt and the celebrated Talleyrand. All these exiles brought letters of introduction to Knox, and received a warm welcome within his hospitable doors. Talleyrand, the distinguished French statesman, landed from Europe at Castine. Some curious facts have been adduced to show that this extraordinary character was a native of Mount Desert. It appears that he had not been long in this country, before he visited that island. The older inhabitants there thought they recognized him as the illegitimate child of the pretty daughter of a fisherman, and the captain of a French national ship which touched on the coast of Maine forty years before. The boy, they said, when young, his mother being dead, had been taken away by a French gentleman, who declared that he was descended from a noble family in France. We may know more about this when the autobiography of Talleyrand is given to the world.

* This "small company of five hundred" seems, like the marriage feast of the parable, to have comprised some unworthy as well as many worthy guests. For Mrs. Mary Lincoln, daughter of the famous James Otis, and widow of General Lincoln's oldest son, in a sprightly letter written to her brother-in-law, Judge Theodore Lincoln of Dennysville, Maine, dated Sept. 10, 1795, describing her own long voyage from Passamaquoddy, where she had just made a visit, to Hingham, her home, writes: "The captain begins to think it doubtful whether we shall go to Georges River. If we do I will give you the particulars. I must tell you one thing I have heard along shore, that *Mrs. Fluker* had her watch stolen the day the *mob-ility* dined at the General's, and that the General lost two silver cups." This mention of *Mrs. Fluker* would seem to indicate that at that time Mrs. Knox's mother formed a part of her family. In a part of the same letter, dated later, October 16, 1795, Mrs. Lincoln also writes: "I was disappointed that I could not go to Georges, as I heard on my way that *Mrs. Fluker* expected me." Perhaps in the vein of raillery, in which the letter was written, Madame Knox herself is the person, evidently the mistress of the house "who expected her," twice mentioned under her mother's name.

At Montpelier, Louis Philippe became acquainted with the beautiful Miss Bingham, afterward the wife of Lord Ashburton, and offered himself to her in marriage. The prospective king was then in reduced pecuniary circumstances, and dependent upon the generosity of his American friends. Her father declined the royal alliance. "Should you be ever restored to your hereditary position," he said, "you will be too great a match for her; if not, she is too great a match for you." Knox became warmly attached to Liancourt, who passed several months in his family. This unfortunate nobleman once exclaimed in a fit of despondency, as he struck his forehead with his hand, "I have three dukedomes on my head, and not a whole coat to my back." His wardrobe was replenished by the munificence of his host.

His charity was not, however, confined to such. Many a poorer exile from his native land; many a weary missionary in his round of frontier duty; many a distressed adventurer, found with him a refuge from oppression, rest from fatigue, a hearing, and perhaps adoption of some scheme or discovery. On one occasion he invited the whole Penobscot tribe of Indians to pay him a visit, and entertained them for several days. He loved to see every one happy, and could sympathize with people of every class and condition, rejoice in their prosperity and aid them in adversity.

Beside cultivating the acquaintance of men of learning, Knox maintained a correspondence with many distinguished personages of his time in Europe and America. His library, with a single exception, was the largest in Maine.

Knox offered favorable terms to new settlers, and published advertisements extolling the fertility of his lands, as well as the salubrity of the climate. To the latter, he said that the balsamic firs largely contributed. As an inducement to immigration he commenced several extensive branches of business, which gave employment to a large number of workmen, and afforded a market for the products of the soil and of the forest. In one of his familiar letters to Washington, he writes, "I am beginning to experience the good effects of residing on my lands. I may truly say that the estate is more than doubled in its value since I determined to make it my home." His plans and projects of improvement were more suited to his expansive mind than to his

actual resources, and finally involved him in serious pecuniary embarrassments.* "But had he been permitted to attain the usual age of man, which his vigorous constitution indicated," says Drake, "the clouds that rested upon the latter part of his life would have been dispelled. The increased value of his property would have realized all his anticipations, and enabled him to leave his family in opulence. It was otherwise ordained. A sudden casualty cut him off in the midst of his usefulness, at the age of fifty-six years. The event occurred on Saturday, the twenty-fifth of October, 1806, after an illness of only a few days. It was occasioned by his having accidentally swallowed the minute bone of a chicken, which caused a mortification, and was from its nature incurable." His funeral took place on the following Tuesday. He was entombed under a wide-spreading oak, on the banks of the Georges, in a spot where, when living, he had loved to linger for meditation. Multitudes were present to pay the last tribute of respect to one whom they regarded as a public benefactor, the life of the business community, and the friend of his country and of the human race.

Mrs. Knox survived her husband fourteen years. Of her twelve children, nine of whom died in infancy, only three survived their father, and they, too, have deceased. The family name is extinct. Montpelier is no longer standing. It ought to have become the property of the public, and been preserved as sacred to the memory of its departed owner. Some future generation, if the patriotism of the past shall survive the temptation of the present, will mourn over the insensibility of their fathers, which allowed so sacred a shrine to become obliterated.

* In this embarrassment, Gen. Knox discloses in his correspondence that his most serious regret was that his old compatriot, correspondent and friend, General Lincoln, who had indorsed his notes, was involved and might be reduced from independence to poverty. He was, in fact, sued, all his property attached, and his house and family homestead in Hingham was actually levied upon by the creditors of his friend. He had been advised of the danger and strongly urged, as the debt was not his own, to alienate his property to prevent its being taken in execution, but the old warrior sturdily refused to resort to any such questionable remedies. He wrote, that the notes had been negotiated and money raised upon the credit of his name and of the property in his ownership, and that he could not in honesty dispossess himself of the very security upon which some persons had in good faith advanced their money. For the good fame of General Knox too it ought to be told that he at once put into the hands of his sureties his whole estate, and that in process of time, from the proceeds of the sale of portions of it to settlers, the whole debt was paid, and General Lincoln was enabled to redeem the homestead that had been taken in execution.

In stature, Knox was rather above medium height, his frame well proportioned and inclining to corpulency. In connection with this fullness of person it is stated that when he was selected together with one Captain Sargent to represent to Congress the starving and naked condition of the army at Valley Forge, one of the committee who heard their pleas, remarked that nevertheless he had not for a long time seen an apparently better fed man than the representative who had last spoken, nor one better dressed than the other. Knox remaining mute, probably from indignation, his subordinate replied that "the army, out of respect to Congress and themselves, had sent the only man among them with an ounce of superfluous flesh on his body, and the only other who possessed a complete suit of clothes." When the American troops occupied Boston after its evacuation, Knox, who had even then become quite stout, marched in at the head of the artillery. As he passed on, that celebrated punning Tory, the Rev. Dr. Byles, who had been intimate with the former bookseller, and thought himself privileged on old scores, exclaimed loud enough to be heard, "I never saw an-ox fatter in my life!" But Knox was not in the mood for such low wit. He justly felt offended by this freedom, especially from Byles, whose Tory sentiments were well known, and he replied in not very courteous terms.

The personal and mental characteristics of General Knox are thus described by William Sullivan, in his "Familiar Letters":—

He was a large, full man; his lower limbs inclined a very little outward, so that in walking his feet were nearly parallel. His hair was short in front, standing up, and powdered and queued. His forehead was low; his face, large and full below; his eyes, rather small, gray and brilliant. The expression of his face altogether was a very fine one.

When moving along the street he had an air of grandeur and self-complacency, but it wounded no man's self-love. He carried a large cane, not to aid his steps, but usually under his arm; and sometimes, when he happened to stop and engage in conversation with his accustomed ardor, his cane was used to flourish with. He was usually dressed in black. In the summer he commonly carried his light silk hat in his hand when walking in the shade.

When thinking he looked like one of his own heavy pieces, which would surely do execution when discharged; when speaking his face had a noble expression and was capable of displaying the most benignant feeling. This was the true character of his heart. His voice was

strong, and no one could hear it without feeling that it had been accustomed to command. The mind of Knox was powerful, rapid and decisive, and he could employ it continuously and effectively. His natural propensity was highly social, and no man better enjoyed a hearty laugh. He said he had through life left his bed at the dawn, and had been always a cheerful, happy man.

Dr. Thacher, his military contemporary, has left upon record the following analysis of Knox: —

Long will he be remembered as the ornament of every circle in which he moved, as the amiable and enlightened companion, the generous friend, the man of feeling and benevolence. His conversation was animated, and he imparted an interest to every subject that he touched. In his gayest moments he never lost sight of dignity; he invited confidence, but repelled familiarity. His conceptions were lofty, and no man ever possessed the power of embodying his thoughts in more vigorous language; when ardently engaged, they were peculiarly bold and original, and you inevitably felt in his society that his intellect was not of the ordinary class; yet no man was more unassuming, none more delicately alive to the feelings of others. His own feelings were strong and exquisitely tender. He was frank, generous and sincere, and in his intercourse with the world uniformly just.

Although General Knox could not be called an orator, he spoke clearly and forcibly, throwing upon the points in issue the strong light of authority and illustration. Occasionally, his remarks had a natural eloquence, as in the following instance. After the Revolution and while he was a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, an application was made by citizens of Marblehead for the charter of a bank. Their petition met with opposition from a representative, who ridiculed the idea that the ignorant fishermen of that town were entitled to such a privilege. Knox at once obtained the floor. "I am surprised," he said, "that Marblehead should ask so small a favor as that of banking, and that it should be opposed. Sir, I wish the members of this body knew the people of Marblehead as well as I do. I could wish that they had stood on the banks of the Delaware river in 1777, in that bitter night when Washington had drawn up his little army to cross it, and had seen the powerful current bearing onward the floating masses of ice which threatened destruction to whomsoever should venture upon its bosom. I wish, that when this occurrence threatened to defeat the enterprise, they could have heard the commander-in-chief demand, 'Who will

lead us on?' and seen the men of Marblehead, and Marblehead alone, stand forward to direct the army along that perilous path to unfading glories and honors in the achievements of Trenton. There, sir, went the fishermen of Marblehead, alike at home upon land or water; alike ardent, patriotic and unflinching, whenever they unfurled the flag of the country!"

One of the distinctive qualities of Knox was the attachment to himself by an influence stronger than hooks of steel, of all with whom he was connected. The attachment of Washington continued unbroken after both had retired from public life, and their correspondence resembles that between brothers. In a letter written by Washington a few months before his death, he says: —

I can with truth say, that there is no man in the United States with whom I have been in habits of greater intimacy; no one whom I have loved more sincerely; nor any for whom I have had a greater friendship.

How valuable is such testimony! How precious is its legacy! In the eloquent words of Winthrop, as applied to Franklin: —

Other honors may grow valueless, other laurels may fade and wither, monumental marble may molder and crumble, but the man of whom it may be said that for nearly a generation he enjoyed the sincere friendship and secured the respect and affection of Washington, without any other merits, has won a title to his country's remembrance, which time will only strengthen and increase!

One of the lessons which an acquaintance with the character of Knox teaches, is so especially applicable to our own times that it might well be learned by many of our countrymen occupying stations of public trust. It was his strict personal integrity. How noble is the following sentiment, contained in a private letter written to his brother, during the revolution.

I undoubtedly might have at first stipulated for some pecuniary advantage to myself; but I know not how it is, I do not approve of money obtained in the public service; it does not appear to me, in a war like ours, to be right, and I cannot bring myself to think differently, although poverty may be the consequence. You know my sentiments with respect to making anything out of the public. I abominate the idea. I could not, at the close of hostilities, mix with my fellow citizens with that conscious rectitude, the felicity of which I often anticipate.

A similar spirit was manifested by Washington, when he accepted the position of commander-in-chief. He said: —

I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit out of it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.

This sketch would be indeed incomplete without an allusion to the religious views of General Knox. It is undoubtedly true, as related by one writer, that in the heat of excitement his vehemently uttered commands were interlarded with expletives suggestive of anything but a Puritan ancestry, but such was the custom of the times. The war of the Revolution has a profane as well as a sacred history, and our army understood the nature of an oath as well as did the army in Flanders. Even Washington, although reproving by general orders "the foolish and wicked practice of swearing," occasionally was unmindful of this precept. For the profanity in which Putnam indulged at the battle of Bunker Hill, the brave old general made a sincere confession, after the war, to the church of which he was a member. It was not, however, with Knox, that senseless, unmeaning use of sacred language so often met with, but consisted rather of solemn asseverations upon too unimportant and trivial subjects. All his writings bear testimony to the great truths of Christianity, and they express the belief that its exalted principles were intended to correct the heart and to purify the life. His thoughts were often and intensely employed on the subject of a future existence. Thacher says: —

He firmly believed in an over ruling Providence, and that he was formed and sustained by its power and goodness. The order, harmony, and beauty of creation seemed to him the most convincing proof of wisdom and design. He thought that the universal distribution of blessings among the human race furnished conclusive evidence of the goodness of the being from whose bounty they flow. But this was a subject upon which he reasoned for himself. Doctrinal opinions and metaphysical subtleties had no allurement for him. The exclusive pretensions of the various sects he considered the fruits of human invention, and utterly unworthy of infinite wisdom. This globe he regarded as a mere atom of the great incomprehensible scheme of the Almighty, and our existence here as only the commencement of a progressive state, rising toward perfection in the future.

Such is a brief outline of the life and character of this distinguished man. "Many," says one writer, "have been as coura-

geous in the field, many as wise and patriotic in council, but few have united to these the still rarer virtues, a spotless integrity, and a noble out-spoken manliness" as he did. Here in this state, which he adopted as his own, we have not taken those means of perpetuating his memory, of which it is worthy. We cannot do too much to remind us of the aid which he contributed by his counsels and valor, in achieving our liberties, and in laying the foundation of our institutions.

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Recognizing the Independence of the United States.

HOW THE GOOD NEWS CAME TO FALMOUTH.

Read before the Maine Historical Society June 10, 1887,

BY WILLIAM GOOLD.

Early in 1776 it was decided privately by the Congress of the new states to seek assistance from abroad. The public credit was at a low ebb, and it was necessary to convince those from whom assistance was asked, that it would be, in time, for their interest to grant the request, aside from any promise or guaranty of repayment. France was a nation hostile to Great Britain by the long-continued tradition of centuries — a humbled nation, smarting to recover her lost prestige and to console her lost pride, and she could ill brook to see the new ideas of political liberty with which her heart was throbbing, trampled upon and crushed in the Colonies by her hereditary and victorious enemy. A more mercenary motive might have reinforced these sentiments, for she doubtless regarded the American trade as an object worth striving for. It was natural that the new states should turn first to France among the nations of Europe.

Early in 1776, Silas Deane, then, and for two years before, a member of the Continental Congress from Connecticut, was sent by the secret committee of that body to France as a political and commercial agent. He arrived in Paris in June, with instructions to sound the disposition of the cabinet in regard to the war between the Colonies and Great Britain, and to endeavor to obtain supplies and military stores. Probably Congress had heard from its agents in Europe, of the favorable disposition of the French cabinet and people, and on the 26th of September, 1776, elected Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee to make a treaty of alliance with France, and to rep-

resent the Colonies at the court of Versailles. Although he was born in Virginia, Lee was educated at Edinburgh, and had studied law at the Temple in London. This experience eminently qualified him for the duties required by his appointment. He had been some time in Europe, and had made frequent visits to Paris, as an agent of the secret service of the Continental Congress. Lee had already made arrangements secretly with the French king to send a large amount of arms, ammunition and specie to the Colonies; but to avoid premature complications with Great Britain they obtained publicity only as a transaction between two commercial houses. The one, "Hortaly & Co." —the house established by aid from the French and Spanish governments as a blind — was engaged in loading their ships for America. The only mention of the arrival in America of these ships within my reading, is in the private journal of Brigadier Preble of Falmouth, who was serving as a councilor in the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. The arrival was kept as secret as possible. He writes: —

April 20, 1777, a ship arrived at Portsmouth with fifty-eight pieces of brass cannon; tents for ten thousand men; clothing for twelve thousand; five thousand seven hundred stand of arms; ten tons of powder; and twenty-four officers of artillery. She had three months' passage.

July 7, Captain Claxton came before the board, and informed that he arrived from France yesterday, and brought seventy barrels of powder; forty chests of arms; ten tons of lead, and sundry anchors, cables, chains and rigging he took out of several vessels he had burnt.

Monday, July 21st, the council met at ten o'clock. The board received a letter from Dr. Franklin in which he informs that he has purchased for the States two hundred and five brass four pounders, with their carriages, traces for the horses, shot, &c., twenty-six brass mortars, a great number of shell, thirty thousand fusils [light muskets], and that a number of expert officers of artillery and engineers, with a vast quantity of powder, has been shipped and gone to America. This letter is dated the 27th of May last. A letter from Mr. Deane, and one from Mr. Lee was was received, who writes very encouragingly, that a quantity of cables, anchors, sail cloths, hats, and coarse linen from Spain, were shipped for America.

Rochefontaine, who was sent to Portland by the war department in 1793, and who built the citadel on the hill called Fort Sumner, was one of the engineers sent from France in 1777.

I have said that Arthur Lee was already in Europe when in

September, 1776, he was with Dr. Franklin appointed to join Silas Deane in Paris, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of alliance with the French king. Dr. Franklin left Philadelphia — as we learn from his letters — on the 26th of October, and the next morning he sailed on the "Reprisal," Captain Wicks, and, on December 3, he landed at Auray in Brittany. The voyage had been a short one, but a rough experience for a man of seventy. Franklin had made visits to Paris in 1767, and again in 1769. On his first visit he had traveled with an Englishman, Sir John Pringle. As commissioner, he arrived in Paris December 12, 1776. He had with him two of his grandsons, and his son, William Temple Franklin, then in his sixteenth year, who acted as his father's private secretary through all the period of his residence in France, which was extended to eight years.

At the very moment of his arrival Franklin found himself "the rage" in Paris. He and the other commissioners were received by Vergennes, the foreign minister, as early as December 23, not ostensibly as ambassadors, but as gentlemen to whom the minister wished to show respect.

The French archives contain the report made by the police of Franklin's appearance — it is dated three weeks after his arrival in Paris and is in these words:—

> Doctor Franklin, who lately arrived in this country from the English colonies, is very much sought after and fêted, not only by the savants, his confrères, but by all people who can get hold of him, for he is difficult to be approached, and lives in reserve, as he is supposed to be directed by the government. This Quaker wears the full costume of his sect. He has an agreeable physiognomy; spectacles always on his eyes; but little hair; a fur cap is always on his head. He wears no powder, but has a neat air; linen very white, and a brown coat make his dress. His only defence is a stick in his hand. If he sees our ministers it is at Paris — not at Versailles at court — at night and in the greatest secrecy.

The English minister, Lord Stormont, it was said, as soon as he learned that Franklin had arrived in France, sent a note to Vergennes, threatening to leave without ceremony if the chief of the American rebels was allowed to set foot in Paris.

John Adams arrived in Paris April 8, 1778, in the American frigate "Boston," having been appointed to succeed Silas Deane. he latter was recalled by a resolution of Congress passed

November 21, 1777, but which Deane did not receive until March, 1778. He came home in the "Languedoc," the flagship of D'Estaing, in April. Deane had been very profuse in his promises, and had exceded his instructions in his engagements of engineers. Congress being embarrassed by his contracts recalled him.

Although Dr. Franklin's principal object, on his arrival in France, was to secure aid to prevent the colonies from being crushed by England, yet he found time for scientific pursuits. Paris was occupied at the time in welcoming Voltaire. He had been exiled for some years, and had just returned, at the age of eighty-four years. His comedies were revived at the theaters, and he was everywhere idolized by the citizens. Franklin, the American commissioner, won an equal share of the popular favor. He was publicly presented to Voltaire at a meeting of the Academy of Science, where the two great men were fairly obliged, by the expectancy of the audience, to embrace and kiss each other. Voltaire died a few months later. Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose work in literature had impressed France and Europe as no other author but Voltaire had done, died soon after him.

Undoubtedly a larger part of the courtiers at Versailles were strongly in favor of war with England, which open assistance of the Colonies by France would bring on; but the King, Louis XVI, then only twenty-three years old, and his Queen, Marie Antoinette, were for peace, and the ministry hesitated. The correspondence of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, with her daughter, Marie Antoinette, and with Merey, the Austrian minister at the French court, has been published. In this Marie Antoinette alludes to the force under Rochambeau to be sent to America. She does not allude to the American war itself, nor to the envoys until March, 1778, when she says: "The King has directed that the king of England shall be told that he has made a treaty with the Americans. My Lord Stormont receives on Sunday the orders of his court to leave France. It seems as if our marine, about which much has been done for a long time, will soon be in action. God grant that all these movements may not bring on war on the land."

The news that General Burgoyne had surrendered at Sara-

toga in October, reached France on December 4, 1777, some days after negotiations were opened between the French ministers and the American commissioners, looking toward a commercial treaty between the two nations, and also a treaty of alliance. Mightily did this victory weigh in favor of the Americans at the French court. Unaided by any foreign power, the Americans had defeated and captured a well-trained army of six thousand men, led by experienced commanders. King Louis then cast off all disguise, and informed the American commissioners that the treaty of alliance and commerce already negotiated would be ratified, and that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States. The king had in the meantime written to his uncle, the king of Spain, urging his co-operation. By a family understanding of the Bourbons, the king of Spain was to be consulted before such a treaty could be ratified. The treaty of alliance with France was signed at Paris, on the sixth of February, 1778. Although the French king assured the commissioners that no advantage would be taken of the situation of the Colonies, yet some of the terms acceded to by the commissioners were considered hard. The much talked of French Claims originated in depredations on American commerce by the French under pretext of retaliating against the States some infractions of this treaty.

It is possible that the United States might finally have won their independence if assistance from France had not been obtained, but those who have studied the situation with the greatest care are not of this opinion. The Colonies were in a great strait. The lives of the leading patriots were at stake upon the success of the struggle; and the commissioners were ready to bid high for assistance, if our promises were accepted as an equivalent. What was asked of France would cost her much treasure, directly, and an inevitable war with England. On the other hand the most objectionable feature of the treaty, to the Americans, was the provision obliging them to allow French privateers to shelter themselves in our ports, secure their outfits there, and be protected in so doing. To perform to the letter this obligation in the treaty might involve the Colonies in war with all the enemies of France.

As the guaranties of our independence by France were of

no present worth, in 1792, our people chose to forget that fifteen years before they had been of vital value. This national feeling found vent in the proclamation of neutrality issued by President Washington in April, 1793. By it he virtually asserted that we should treat France in precisely the same manner that we should Great Britain, with whom, at the time, we had no treaty.

It is not necessary to go into the history of our claims on France for the seizure of American merchant vessels. After protracted negotiations, in 1801, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, consented that, if our government would assume this debt to the American merchants, France would absolve it from its troublesome obligations in the treaty of 1778, and this was readily consented to. Between 1793 and 1800, eight hundred and ninety-eight vessels owned or chartered by American merchants, were seized; some were released, but most of them were never accounted for. As soon as the treaty with Bonaparte was ratified by the American Senate, claimants began to file their petitions and they and their heirs have gone on so doing from that time to the present. Forty-three times have the French spoliation claims been considered by Congress; forty-one favorable bills have been reported, but a veto or a failure to pass more than one house has prevented the claimants from receiving their just dues. Twice bills granting relief have passed both Senate and House, and have been vetoed — the first by President Polk, and the second by President Pierce. Of course none of the original claimants are now living.

But to return to the treaty. From the letters which were saved, we learn that the commissioners had great difficulty in transmitting their dispatches to Congress. There were great numbers of English war-vessels in the Bay of Biscay, watching the movements of the French and American ships. All letters and dispatches were in great danger of being intercepted, and nearly all that had been sent home by the commissioners were indeed lost. In some instances where they were intrusted to a special messenger they were abstracted from the packets and blank sheets substituted before he started. Probably English bribes effected this. Commissioner Lee's secretary was suspected, and finally removed, but nothing was substantiated against him.

A letter from the committee of foreign affairs to the commissioners at Paris, dated at York, Pa., where Congress was in session, 24th of March, 1778, says:—

Yesterday a private letter from Dr. Franklin, dated October 6, was presented, containing the only political intelligence which Folger brought safe with him, viz.: "Our affairs, so far as relates to this country, are every day more promising." This, with a letter from Mr. Barnabas Deane (brother to Silas, from Connecticut), who tells us that his brother was sending an important packet to Congress, is all the explanation we have of the nature of your dispatches, of which we have been robbed. I inclose a list by which you will see the break in our correspondence.

A letter from the committee of foreign affairs, dated York, March 2, 1778, to William Bingham, says, they have received no intelligence from the commissioners since May of last year. They state that their dispatches had been "lost at sea and others tampered with in Europe before the bearer, Captain John Folger, embarked with them for America." The presence of the English ships hovering about the western coast of France, threatened a collision any day, between them and French vessels, thereby precipitating the war that all felt was inevitable. There was also a strong desire to keep the existence of the treaties secret from England to as late a date as possible, in order not to precipitate a war.

The Boston Weekly Advertiser of May 7, 1778, says:—

Friday arrived at Portsmouth the Continental frigate "Deane," Samuel Nicholson, Esq., commander, in sixty-three days from France, laden with clothing for the army; two other ships came out with her on the continental service; all under the convoy of three 74's, two 64's, and three frigates, who had orders from the French court to attend them until they were clear of the Bay of Biscay.

A letter from Passy, where Franklin resided, near Paris, dated February 8, 1778, signed by Franklin and Deane, and directed to the "President of Congress," says, "You will soon have the whole treaty with France by a safer conveyance, a frigate being appointed to carry our dispatches."

On February 16, they say, "These treaties continue a secret here, and may do so till the commencement of the war, which is daily expected. Our little fleet formerly mentioned, which has been long watched and detained in Nantes river, by the English cruising off Belleisle, is now on the point of sailing, under the

convoy of a French squadron. As the English are pretty strong in the Bay of Biscay, it is probable that their attack and the French defence of our ships, may be the prelude to a declaration on both sides."

There is a letter from Dr. Franklin to Thomas Cushing, a member of the Continental Congress from Massachusetts, dated at Passy, 21st of February, 1778. He speaks of the two treaties with France, and closes with this announcement. "The treaties are forwarded by this conveyance." "We have now taken from King Louis XVI," says Franklin, "the delivery of the treaties, which make him our ally, and which were our national salvation, but the frigate bearing them must run the gauntlet of the British fleet in the Bay of Biscay. The British admiral does not know of the existence of the treaties — if he did it would be impossible for the frigate to pass with them." Their existence was not even known in France.

Let us now look at the situation of the struggling Colonists on this side of the water. General Washington, in July, 1777, had received a powerful recruit, in the person of the Marquis Lafayette, who had been commissioned a Major General by the Congress. Within forty days he was wounded while fighting at the head of his corps on the bank of the Brandywine. A bullet passed through his leg, and he was conveyed to Bethlehem, Pa., where he was nursed by the Moravian sisters. Washington lost the battle of Brandywine and twelve hundred men, on the 11th of September, 1777. Congress withdrew from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and then to York, Pa., where it continued in session until the following summer. The Americans lost the two forts, "Mifflin" and "Mercer," a few miles below Philadelphia, and the British army sat down in Philadelphia for the winter. They also lost a fight at Hubbardston, Vt., and their stores at Shenesborough. Disaster followed disaster in quick succession. Within a week, the Americans had lost almost two hundred pieces of cannon, and a large amount of military stores.

On the 17th of October, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered to the patriots at Saratoga. Glorious indeed was this victory. We have seen that the news of it confirmed the French king in his desire to assist the Colonies, but neither Congress nor General Washington knew of its good influence at Versailles when he

was compelled by the snows of early winter, to lead his scantily fed and more scantily clothed army into rude huts at Valley Forge. After the close of the war, General Washington testified that bloody foot-prints were everywhere visible in the track of their march of nineteen miles, from Whitemarsh to Valley Forge. There they starved and shivered, while the British army were comfortably quartered and well fed in Philadelphia. I have myself, in my boyhood, listened to the sad story of the sufferings at Valley Forge, from men from my native town, who participated in them; one of whom said that he had the only pair of shoes in his company. This was the situation of Washington and his army while the frigate bearing the treaties was crossing the Atlantic. It had been nearly a year since any intelligence had been received from the commissioners in France.

Mr. Joseph Gilman was chairman of the New Hampshire committee of safety, a body which had charge of the supplies for the state troops. Samuel Adams, afterward governor of Massachusetts, went to Exeter to visit Mr. Gilman, to consult as to ways and means to raise supplies for the naked and starving soldiers. Mr. Gilman happened to be away from home, and his wife attempted to engage Mr. Adams in conversation, but his downcast looks and abstracted manner caused her to desist. The visitor, too uneasy to sit quietly in his chair, walked rapidly up and down the room, and uttering a deep groan, while wringing his hands, and with tears rolling down his cheeks, he exclaimed almost in agony, "O my God, must we give it up!"

This was the feeling of the men whose business it was to furnish food and clothing for the army, when the good news arrived from France that our independence was acknowledged, and that men, money and supplies were on the way.

Years ago Robert Browning wrote the poem "How they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix." The first reading of the poem causes the illusion that the reader is in the saddle, upon a foaming horse at full gallop. The literary world wondered what was the good news which alone could save Aix from her fate. The annals of the French department of the lower Alps, in which is situated the ancient city which was the objective point of the three horsemen of the poem, were searched. The effort was fruitless, and Browning was appealed to, when he

stated that the poem had no ground either in fact or tradition, but was inspired while he was lying in the shadow of a sail, on board a yacht in the Mediterranean, by an intense yearning for a horseback gallop at home in England.

There was good news and a treaty brought from Ghent to the United States in 1778, which was no myth. It was from France that the good news came to the struggling Colonies, in these darkest days of the Revolution, that their independence had been acknowledged by the king of France, and that he had engaged his government to send men and money which would enable them to drive back the invader, and to take a place among the nations of the earth — and how bravely did they do it.

From the Boston Gazette and Continental Journal of April 20, 1778, I take the following: —

Soon after the court of France dispatched Mr. Simeon Deane in the frigate "Bellepoule," of thirty-six guns, in the most private manner, with the preliminaries of a treaty with the United States, but the frigate meeting with violent contrary winds, and springing her foremast, was obliged, after being out six weeks, to put back to Brest, from whence Mr. Deane immediately repaired to the court of Versailles, and received orders for another frigate, which left Brest March 8.

On the morning of Monday, the thirteenth of April, 1778, what were left of the people of the fire-scathed town of Falmouth saw off Cape Elizabeth a large ship approaching the harbor, under a press of sail. As she came nearer she was made out to be a ship of war. Fears of the dreaded Mowatt came over them; but she was seen with a glass to be a frigate with a white flag — the flag of France under the Bourbons, — flying from her mizzen peak. When the ship's nationality was made out all fears subsided, and strong arms rowed a pilot off to the ship, and brought her in amid salutes from the forts.

This arrival is thus explained in the private journal of William Moody of Falmouth, who was then doing duty as a private soldier at one of the forts: —

April 13, 1778. About twelve o'clock a French frigate arrived from France with dispatches for the Congress, bringing the news that France had acknowledged American independence. 14th, the forts saluted the French frigate, and she returned it; also three other armed vessels.

The Boston Gazette of April 20 has the following: —

The following articles of intelligence up to the eighth of March were received by the frigate "La Sensible," of thirty-six guns (belonging to his most Christian majesty), commanded by the Chevalier Marigny, who arrived at Falmouth, Casco bay, on Monday last, in thirty-five days, from France, with dispatches for Congress, and came to hand last evening. On her passage the frigate saw five or six ships at different times, appearing to be British. Mr. Deane is happy to take this first public opportunity to acknowledge the zeal, politeness and dispatch with which the Chevalier Marigny has finally accomplished his important mission, and hopes that he may return safe to receive the reward due to so worthy an officer; and at the same time most sincerely congratulates his countrymen at this great and most happy event. It is said that a frigate is dispatched from Spain with duplicates of the forenamed treaty.

In a postscript to the Boston Gazette of Monday, May 18, 1778, it is said: "A person who arrived yesterday, in nine days from Philadelphia, has favored us with the Pennsylvania Gazette of the ninth instant, and also with the following handbill: — 'Yorktown, Pa., May 6, 1778. On Saturday last Simeon Deane, Esq., arrived at Congress express from the American plenipotentiaries at the court of France, and delivered his dispatches to his honor the President,'" and then follows the account of the arrival of the frigate.

From a letter received from Mr. Spofford, librarian of Congress, in January last, I make the following extract, showing who Simeon Deane, the messenger from the commissioners, was. He says: — "As Silas Deane and C. A. Gerard, the first French minister, arrived in this country the same year (1778), it might seem at first glance that the mention of Simeon Deane by Washington is a mistake for *Silas* Deane — it was Simeon, a brother of Silas. 'Writings of Washington,' volume 5, page 355, he says, 'By a line from Bethlehem, Mr. Simeon Deane had informed me that he is the bearer of the articles of alliance between France and the states.' Congress had the treaty before it on May 4, and it is printed in full in the 'Secret Journals of Congress,' volume 2, page 57. At Valley Forge, Washington already knew of the treaty on the third of May, and he so states in a letter to the president of Congress, and expresses a desire to have the event appropriately celebrated by the army as soon as

permission would be given. The general order for celebrating the event, was issued by General Washington on May 7."

By General Washington's letter we learn that Simeon Deane first went to Bethlehem, whence he wrote to the General. Deane probably had dispatches for General Lafayette, who was staying with the Moravian community at Bethlehem, eighty miles north of Philadelphia, for the gunshot wound in his leg to heal.

On the seventh of May, the army at Valley Forge fired salutes, and by order of the general-in-chief they all shouted "Huzza for the King of France."

The Boston Gazette of May 11 says: "On Tuesday last, arrived in this port from Currona, in Spain, a French frigate of forty guns, with very important dispatches for Congress, which were immediately sent by express to that august body." These dispatches were the duplicates of the treaties mentioned by Deane to be sent from Spain.

William Moody, to whom we are indebted for all we know of the Chevalier Marigny and his ship while at Falmouth, was then but twenty-two years old, and yet he was an observing and careful journalist. He was a soldier in Captain Bradish's company, which left Falmouth for Cambridge on the eighth of July, 1775, twenty-one days after the battle of Bunker Hill. He served out his term of enlistment at Cambridge, and returned home, where he re-enlisted for garrison duty on which he was engaged when the French frigate arrived. After the ship had been in port five days Moody mentions her departure in these words: —

"Saturday, April 18, 1778. The French frigate "La Sensible," Captain Renard D. Marigny, sailed for France with a fair wind."

It should be kept in mind that at the time of the ship's arrival at Falmouth, no dispatches nor private letters had been received from the American commissioners at Paris for almost a year. It is no cause for wonderment that the forts saluted her, as did three other armed vessels in the harbor.

Although no historian has mentioned it, the coming in safety to Falmouth of this ship was the most important arrival in America since that of the "Mayflower," and no arrival since has equalled it in result. For this French ship brought documents of the most momentous significance to a suffering and almost discouraged people — formal copies of the treaties that had been

entered into after long and anxious negotiations — happy results of the first efforts of the new states to attract attention abroad — treaties ratified, not with an obscure and infant nation like themselves, but with one of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, able and willing to rescue the struggling states from the oppressor, and to save their leading men from an ignominious death, or perpetual exile.

Three times had these treaties been borne in safety past the British fleet; twice by the French frigate "Bellepoule," which from stress of weather became disabled, and was compelled to return through the same perils to Brest; and thirdly, by the "La Sensible," which made the passage in thirty-five days, although we have seen that a month later it was considered necessary to send five ships of the line and three frigates to guard the American frigate "Deane" and two other ships, laden with army supplies and clothing, bound to Portsmouth, N. H. These ships had orders to attend them until they were clear of the Bay of Biscay; this shows the strength and vigilance of the British naval police at the time on the coast of France. The existence of the treaty of alliance had now become known to England.

With what joy and gratitude must the Chevalier Marigny and Mr. Deane, with their charge, have entered within the headlands of Casco bay. True, when entering the harbor, the prospect was not cheering. Of what two years before was the most compact part of the town of Falmouth, nothing remained but blackened chimneys and half-burnt wharves; but their dangerous voyage was ended, and the ship was in a safe and fortified harbor.

Undoubtedly the harbor of Falmouth was chosen for its safety and ease of access, as well as for the facilities it afforded for watching the ships of the enemy. This port was probably designated before the frigate left Brest.

Mr. Deane, the bearer of dispatches, must on account of the state of the roads have now assumed the character of a horseback messenger, as described by Browning. True, no horse had yet broken down, as the poem relates, but a frigate had, which maintains the similarity. The newspaper does not mention the hour of Mr. Deane's arrival in Boston, but says he left there on Tuesday for Congress, the day after the ship's arrival at Fal-

mouth. Although Mr. Deane made such good time between Falmouth and Boston, he did not deliver the treaties to Congress until the fourth of May, three weeks after the arrival of the ship. The poem probably as well describes Mr. Deane's ride from Falmouth to Boston as it does that of the horseman from Ghent.

> I turned in my saddle and made its girths tight,
> Then shortened each stirrup, and set the pique right,
> Rebuckled the check-strap, chained slacker the bit,
> Nor galloped less steadily Roland a whit.
>
> And there was my Roland to bear the whole weight
> Of the news which alone could save Aix from her fate,
> With his nostrils like pits full of blood to the brim,
> And with circles of red for his eye-sockets' rim.
>
> Then I cast loose my buff coat, each holster let fall,
> Shook off both my jack-boots, let go belt and all,
> Stood up in the stirrup, leaned, patted his ear,
> Called my Roland his pet name, — my horse without peer, —
> Clapped my hands, laughed and sang, any noise, bad or good,
> Till at length into Aix Roland galloped and stood.
>
> And all I remember is, friends flocking round
> As I sate with his head 'twixt my knees on the ground;
> And no voice but was praising this Roland of mine,
> As I poured down his throat our last measure of wine,
> Which (the burgesses voted by common consent)
> Was no more than his due who brought good news from Ghent.

The first movement of the French government, in compliance with the requirements of the treaty of alliance, was to dispatch a fleet of twelve ships of the line and four frigates, under Count D'Estaing, to blockade the British fleet in the Delaware. He arrived there in July, but Howe had fled into shoal water for safety. After D'Estaing came Rochambeau and six thousand French troops, and with them a crowd of French officers of noble birth. It seems an anomaly for these officers of noble blood to have come to America, at the bidding of royalty, to aid democracy. Rochambeau sailed from Brest on the thirteenth of April, the same day that Marigny arrived at Falmouth with the treaties. If he had not been over-ruled, Rochambeau would also have landed in Maine. On his way he wanted to call at Castine and drive out the English. If he had, the French would

have again ruled at old Pentagoet. To avoid raising the question of rank, Washington had been made a lieutenant general of France. He thus took rank as commander-in-chief of the allied armies. The moral effect of the French alliance was more valuable to the United States than all the armed assistance. The Dutch Republic declared for the alliance; Frederick the Great was called to account by Great Britain for favoring it, when he said, "Since the English wish for war with all the world they shall have it." But Yorktown settled the question of the new nation in America.

REV. WILLIAM SCREVEN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 21, 1883.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D.D.

It is an interesting fact that the first Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina, — the oldest of all the Baptist churches in the Southern States, — was organized in the latter part of the seventeenth century at Kittery, in what was then known as the Province of Maine, now the State of Maine. The first information we have concerning the presence of Baptists at Kittery is contained in a letter which Humphrey Churchwood, a member of the Baptist church in Boston, but a resident of Kittery, addressed to his brethren of Massachusetts Bay, January 3, 1682. The letter reads as follows: —

Humphrey, a servant of Jesus Christ to the church which is at Boston: grace be with you, and peace, from God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all comforts, who comforteth us in all our tribulations that we may be able to comfort them that are in any trouble, as we are comforted of God. Most dearly beloved brethren and friends, as I am, through free grace, a member of the same body, and joined to the same head, Christ Jesus, I thought it my special duty to inform you that the tender mercy of God, in and through Jesus Christ, hath shined upon us by giving light to them that sit in darkness, and to guide our feet in the way of peace; for a great door, and effectual, is opened in these parts, and there are many adversaries, according to the 1st of Corinthians, 16: 9. Therefore, dearly beloved, having a desire to the service of Christ, which is perfect freedom, and the propagating his glorious gospel of peace and salvation, and eyeing that precious promise in Daniel the 12th, 3rd, "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars forever," therefore I signify unto you that here [are] a competent number of well established people whose hearts the Lord hath opened insomuch that they have gladly received the word and do seriously profess their hearty desire to the following of Christ and to partake of all his holy ordinances, according to his blessed institutions and divine appointment; therefore I present my ardent desire to your serious consideration, which is, if the Lord see it fit, to have a gospel church planted here in this place; and in order hereunto, we think it meet that our beloved brother, William Screven,

who is, through free grace, gifted and endued with the spirit of veterans to preach the gospel [be ordained]; who, being called by us, who are visibly joined to the church.* When our beloved brother is ordained according to the sacred rule of the Lord Jesus our humble petition is to to God that he will be pleased to carry on this good work to the glory of his holy name, and to the enlarging of the kingdom of his beloved Son, our dear Redeemer, who will add daily to his church such as shall be saved; and we desire you in the name of our Lord Jesus not to be slack in this good work, believing verily that you will not, and that you are always abounding in the work of the Lord, and we humbly crave your petitions for us to the throne of grace, and we commend you to God and the good word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified.

Concerning the previous history of Mr. Screven (to whom allusion is here made, and who was probably the bearer of this letter) but little is known. It is inferred, for reasons that will be given subsequently, that he came from Somerton, in Somersetshire, England. After his settlement at Kittery he is first mentioned in a deed by which, November 15, 1673, Elizabeth Seely granted ten acres of land on the west side of Spruce Creek, Kittery, at what was known as Carle's Point, to William Screven, for eleven pounds "current pay of New England."† He is next mentioned in the record of his marriage, July 3, 1674, to Bridget Cutts, a daughter of Robert Cutts, one of the three brothers so prominent among the early settlers of New Hampshire. John, the oldest, was the first president of New Hampshire; Robert, the youngest, settled at Barbadoes, in the West Indies, where he married, as his second wife, Mary Hoel. Subsequently he came to New England, and first lived in Portsmouth, in the Great House (so-called) at the foot of Pitt street. Afterward he removed to Kittery, where he was extensively engaged in ship-building. He had two sons and four daughters. It was the second of these daughters, Bridget Cutts, whom William Screven married.

From the records of the Province of Maine ‡ we learn that at

*I have followed the copy of this letter which is found in the reprint of Backus' History of the Baptists of New England (1871), Vol. 1, p. 401.

† York Deeds, Book IV, Folio 41.

‡ By a resolution adopted in the Maine House of Representatives March 3, 1848, and in the Senate on the same date, the Governor and Council were "authorized to employ a suitable person to transcribe the Early Records of the Province of Maine, now in the keeping of the clerk of the Judicial Courts of the County of York, to be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State." March 13, 1848, Charles Bradbury of Kennebunk-

a County Court held at York, July 6, 1675, among several "presentments" by the Grand Jury was the following: —

We present William Scrivine for not frequenting the publique meeting according to Law on the Lord's days. Early Records, Vol. 3, p. 296.

This person presented is remitted because p evidence it appears that hee usually attends Mr. Mowdys meeting on the Lord's days. Early Records, Vol. 3, p. 315.

At a Court held at Wells, July 4, 1676, Mr. Screven was appointed a constable for "ye lower part of the River." In 1678 and in 1680, he was appointed to serve on the grand jury, and at the General Assembly held at York, June 30, 1681, he took his seat as a deputy from Kittery.

It is evident from these records, as well as from Churchwood's letter, that in his religious views Mr. Screven was not in harmony with the "Standing Order." He was nevertheless esteemed as a citizen, and was rapidly advanced to positions of official trust.

Churchwood's letter shows that at the time to which it refers there were Baptists enough in Kittery — in part doubtless as a result of Mr. Screven's labors — to warrant the formation of a Baptist church. The nearest church of the same faith was that in Boston, to which this letter was addressed, and which was organized in March, 1665, sixteen years before. Churchwood's letter evidently secured for Mr. Screven a hearty welcome from the church in Boston, and he was admitted to membership in the church. After hearing him preach they at once acceded to the request of the brethren in Kittery, and gave to the newly ordained the following certificate, dated January 11, 1682: —

To all whom it may concern: — These are to certify, that our beloved brother, William Screven, is a member in communion with us, and having had trial of his gifts among us, and finding him to be a man whom God hath qualified and furnished with the gifts of his Holy Spirit, and grace, enabling him to open and apply the word of God, which through the blessing of the Lord Jesus may be useful in his hand, for the begetting and building up of souls in the knowledge of God, do therefore appoint, approve and encourage him, to exercise his gift in the place where

port was appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, to make this transcription. The work was completed in four volumes, and deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, with this title: "Transcript of the Early Records of the Province of Maine." A manuscript copy of this "Transcript" was made a few years ago for James P. Baxter, Esq., of Portland, and the references in this article to these "Early Records" are to Mr. Baxter's copy.

he lives, or elsewhere, as the providence of God may cast him; and so the Lord help him to eye his glory in all things, and to walk humbly in the fear of his name.

This certificate was signed in behalf of the rest by Isaac Hull,* pastor of the church, and John Farnum.

Meanwhile this movement to establish a Baptist church in Kittery became known there, and awakened probably not unexpected opposition. Under date of January 25, 1682, Mr. Churchwood addressed another letter to his brethren in Boston, in which he says:—

I thought good to inform you that since our beloved brother Screven went from us, who, I trust is by God's mercy now with you, by his long absence from us, has given great advantage to our adversaries to triumph and to endeavor to beat down that good beginning which God, by his poor instrument hath begun amongst us: and our magistrate, Mr. Hucke,† is almost every day summoning and threatening the people by fines and other penalties, if ever they come to our meeting any more, five shillings for every such offence.‡

He adds that he also, on the previous day, was brought before the magistrate who demanded of him how he spent his time. In the presence of the magistrate, also, he had a long discussion with Mr. Woodbridge,§ the parish minister, concerning infant baptism, etc. Mr. Screven in a short time, possibly after a visit

* Isaac Hull was the second pastor of the church.

† Francis Hooke of Kittery, Judge of Probate Court from 1693 to 1695.

‡ The original of this letter is in the possession of the writer of this article.

§ Greenleaf, in his Sketches of the Ecclesiastical History of the State of Maine, p. 29, note, says: "Mr. Backus in relating the account of an ancient Baptist church at Kittery mentions a Mr. Woodbridge as Priest of the place. This was in 1680. But we have no other account of this man." In the appendix to Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs' "American Presbyterianism," p. 1., I find the following: "Benjamin Woodbridge was son of John Woodbridge, pastor of Andover, Mass.; brother of John Woodbridge, pastor of Wethersfield, Conn., and of Timothy Woodbridge, pastor of Hartford, Conn. He was pastor at Windsor, Conn., from 1668-1680, of a party who were dissatisfied with Mr. Chauncy, who had been called by the majority of the church. They were both dismissed by order of the court. The two pastors then united in one church. He is probably the Mr. Woodbridge mentioned in a letter of Joshua Moody from Portsmouth, N. H., in 1683. It is probable that he supplied that church during the troubles of its pastor with the arbitrary authorities. He supplied the church at Bristol from 1684-1686, but the people would not unite upon him. (*Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.* IV., Vol. 8, pp. 463, 651-655; *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, New Haven, 1851, p. 513). He was again supply at Portsmouth, N H., in 1690," and Dr. Briggs inserts a letter from Mr. Woodbridge to some English Bishop written at Portsmouth, April 2, in that year. This letter was discovered by Dr. Briggs in the summer of 1884, in the *Rolls Office*, London.

to Mr. Miles,* the pastor of the Baptist church in Swansea, returned to Kittery, and entered upon the work to which he had been set apart by his brethren. The opposition, which during his absence had been manifested toward his associates, was now transferred to him, and from an entry without date in the Records of the Province (vol. 4, p. 254) it appears that he was summoned in a short time to appear before the provincial authorities. The record is as follows: —

William Screven, upon rumors and reports from a common fame of some presumptuous, if not blasphemous speeches about the holy ordinance of baptism which should pass from him. Whereof being informed we sent for said Screven by a special warrant to York, where, upon examination, he did not absolutely deny his charge, but after it was proved he seemed to own and justify the matter of his speeches. In his second charge, though he positively denied the first about his child, for infant baptism he said was an ordinance of the devil, as the testimonies declare, he replied that he conceived it no ordinance of God, but an invention of man. What was it? — and put us to prove by any positive command in the Gospel, or Scriptures, that there was infant baptism, and according to our understandings he endeavored to make good the matter of his words, and to put the manner of them into a smoother dress, mincing the matter as Edw. Rishworth† told him; whose reply was, that mincing was to put it in better terms than it deserved, charging Mr. Hooke with prejudice, who brought him thither, and desired not to be judged by him.

After some further discourse we required said Screven to give security sufficient to the treasurer of the Province of a bond of one hundred pounds to answer his charge at the next Court of Pleas holden for this Province, or we must make him his mittimus, and send him to the jail; which said Screven refusing, accordingly was done.

How long he remained in jail we are not informed. April 12,

* Churchwood, in the above letter, says Mr. Hooke referred to Mr. Miles in this way: "Behold your great Doctor, Mr. Miles of Swanzey, for he now leaves his profession and is come away, and will not teach his people any more, because he is likely to perish for want; and his gathered church and people will not help him." Churchwood replied that this "was a great untruth," and he was right. Rev. John Miles in 1667, by the Act of Uniformity, was ejected from the living of Ilston, in Wales. Like other Baptists under the Protectorate, he officiated as a preacher in one of the state churches, although he was pastor of a Baptist church. Backus speaks of him as "father of the Baptist churches in Wales, which began in 1649." He and his Baptist friends, bringing with them their church records, came to Massachusetts in 1663 and located at a place to which they gave the name of their old home in Wales. Miles was made pastor of the church, and there he remained until his death in 1683. He was distinguished for his learning and piety, and Backus writing in 1777, nearly a century after his death, says, "His memory is still precious among us."

† Concerning Rishworth, see York Deeds, Book I, pp. 9–11.

1682, he was brought before the Court at York, and the examination resulted as follows: —

This Court having considered the offensive speeches of William Screven, by his rash, inconsiderate words tending to blasphemy, do adjudge the delinquent for his offence to pay ten pounds into the treasury of the county or province. And further, the Court doth further discharge the said Screven under any pretence to keep any private exercise at his own house or elsewhere, upon the Lord's days, either in Kittery or any other place within the limits of this province, and is for the future enjoined to observe the public worship of God in our public assemblies upon the Lord's days according to the laws here established in this Province, upon such penalties as the law requires upon his neglect of the premises. Early Records, Vol. 4, p. 261.

Mr. Screven seems to have paid no heed to this order, and his case was brought before a general assembly of the Province held at York, June 28, 1682. The record of the action taken is as follows: —

William Screven, appearing before this Court and being before convicted of the contempt of his Majesty's authority, by refusing to submit himself to the sentence of the former Court prohibiting his public exercises, referring to some irreligious speeches uttered by him, and upon examination before this Court declaring his resolution still to persist in the same course, the Court tendered him liberty to return home to his family, in case he would forbear such kind of disorderly and turbulent practices, and amend for the future. But he refusing, the Court required him to give bond for his good behavior, and to forbear such contemptuous behavior for the future, and ordered that the delinquent should stand committed until the judgment of this Court herein be fulfilled. After which said Screven coming into the Court, did, in the presence of the said Court, and president, promise and engage to depart out of this Province within a very short time. Early Records, Vol. 4, p. 23.

It is evident from these words that Screven and his associates had now come to the conclusion that if at Kittery they could not have freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, they must seek that freedom elsewhere. But, as yet, they had no church organization, and it was evidently deemed desirable that such an organization should be effected before their departure, and while they could have the assistance of the Boston brethren. Accordingly, September 13, 1682, Mr. Screven sent a letter to the Baptist church in Boston, request-

ing the church to send its pastor and delegates to aid in the organization of a church. In this letter he said: —

To Thomas Skinner, Boston, for the church: Dearly beloved brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, the King of saints. I and my wife salute you with our christian love in our Lord Jesus, hoping through grace these few lines will find you in health of body and mind. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ, in whom he is pleased to account his saints meet to be partakers of the blessed rest provided for them in his mansion-house eternally in the heavens. That will be a happy day when all the saints shall join together in sounding of his praise. The good Lord enable us to prepare for that blessed day. To that end, brethren, let us pray, every one himself, for himself, and for one another, that God would please to search our hearts and reins, so as that we may walk with God here, and hereafter dwell with him in glory.

He then refers to the fact that his mother-in-law had become a Baptist, and expresses the desire that the pastor of the church in Boston, with other delegates, should visit Kittery, and assist in the organization of a church.

To this request the church acceded, and its pastor, Rev. Isaac Hull, accompanied probably by other members of the church, soon made his way to Kittery. There, Sept. 25, 1682, with what services we are not told, a covenant was entered into and signed by William Screven, Elder; Humphrey Churchwood, Deacon; Robert Williams, John Morgandy,* Richard Cutts, Timothy Davis, Leonard Drown, Wm. Adams, Humphrey Axell, George Litten, and several women.

It has been supposed that Mr. Screven and his associates left Kittery not long after the organization of the church. Time, however, would be required for the consideration of a desirable location, as well as for the disposal of property, and for providing means of transportation when the matter of location had been settled. It is certain from the Court Records that Mr. Screven and his "Baptist Company" were at Kittery as late as Oct. 9, 1683, for under that date, in the record of a court held at Wells, occurs this entry: —

Order about Will. Screven. William Screven being brought before this Court for not departing this Province according to a former confession of Court, and his own choice, and denying now to fulfill it, this

* I have here followed Backus, and possibly, perhaps probably, this should be Morgradge, or Morgradg, or Mogridge, or Muggridg, as the name appears in the York Deeds.

Court doth declare that the sentence of the General Assembly bearing date the 28th of June, 1682, stands good and in full force against the said William Screven during the Court's pleasure. Early Records, Vol. 4, p. 295.

This order does not seem to have hastened the departure of Screven and his associates. At the Court held at Wells, May 27, 1684, this action was taken.

An order to be sent for William Screven to appear before the General Assembly in June next. Early Records, Vol. 4, p. 173.

As no further citation for Mr. Screven appears in the Court Records, it is probable that he and his company had made all their preparations for removal, and, before the time of the meeting of the General Assembly arrived, had left their homes on the Piscataqua for a new settlement, where they could enjoy undisturbed freedom to worship God in accordance with their religious convictions.*

The place selected for the settlement was on Cooper river, not far from the present site of Charleston, South Carolina. Mr. Screven called the name of this settlement Somerton. It is from this fact that an inference has been drawn with reference to Mr. Screven's home in England. Ivimy, in his History of the English Baptists, Vol. 2, p. 521, says that in 1655 Rev. Henry Jessey, a Baptist minister of London, was invited to visit his brethren in Bristol. Baptist principles he found had spread into many adjacent parts, and congregations in Wells, Cirencester, Somerton, Chard, Taunton, Honiton, Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Lyme, Weymouth and Dorchester were also visited. In the following year these churches asserted their union in a common declaration of faith, entitled, "A Confession of Faith of several churches in the county of Somerset and in the counties near adjacent." The confession was signed by twenty-five per-

* A William Screven still remained at Kittery. There are several references to him in the "York Deeds." In Book V, Part I, Folio 75, William Screven is a witness to a document dated April 18, 1692. At a Court held at York, Oct. 6, 1691 (Book V, Part II, Folio 12), William Screven, with two others, was appointed to view certain bounds. At a Court held at York, April 4, 1693 (Part II, Folio 18), William Screven, with Richard Cutts, was fined for non-appearance on jury. In the record of the Court held at York, July 4, 1693 (Part II, Folio 19), William Screven appears as foreman of the Grand Jury. As William Screven, who went to South Carolina, married Bridget Cutts July 23, 1674, I am inclined to believe that this William Screven was a son of the minister by a former wife.

sons, ministers and laymen, in behalf of the whole, and among the signatures is that of William Screven of Somerton. This was in 1656. Mr. Screven, who established the colony at Somerton, South Carolina, was at that time twenty-seven years of age. As his whole career in this country shows, he was a man of more than ordinary ability. We know of no reason, therefore, why he may not have been the William Screven who signed the Confession of 1656, while the fact that he gave the name of Somerton to his settlement on Cooper river, in South Carolina, affords at least a plausible ground for such an identification.

About the time Mr. Screven established his colony at Somerton, there came into the same neighborhood from the west of England, Joseph Blake, the friend and trustee of Lord Berkely, one of the Lords Proprietors, and with him a number of "substantial persons." Mr. Blake's wife, and her mother, Lady Axtell, united with Mr. Screven's church; and Mr. Blake, although not a member of the church, entertained Baptist views. With six others, he was appointed to revise the Fundamental Constitutions prepared for the Lords Proprietors by the celebrated John Locke, and he succeeded Governor Archdale in the government of the colony at the close of the year 1696. His position and influence greatly strengthened the Baptist cause in the colony. Widely known as a wise and honored magistrate, he died September 7, 1700.

A number of colonists, also from the north of England, chiefly Baptists, came to Carolina with Lord Cardross, not long after the arrival of Mr. Screven's company, and settled at Port Royal. The neighboring Indians, however, proved hostile, as did also the Spanish settlers at St. Augustine; and they soon, certainly before 1686, made their way to the mouth of the Edisto river, where they located, and those who were Baptists attached themselves to Mr. Screven's church, adding still further to its strength and influence.

Charles-Town, as the settlement on the neck of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers was now called, began to attract colonists about ten years before Mr. Screven and his company established themselves at Somerton. Its facilities for commerce did not escape the attention of the new colonists; and before the year 1693, the larger portion of the members of the church had

removed from Somerton to the Neck. It became necessary, therefore, that the meetings of the church should be transferred thither also. At first the meetings were held in the house of William Chapman, in King street. In 1699, William Elliott, one of the members, gave the church the lot of land on Church street, on which the meeting-house of the First Baptist church in Charleston now stands, and a house of worship was erected on this lot, either in that or the following year.

Mr. Screven was now more than seventy years of age, and, his health having declined, he asked to be relieved of the duties of his sacred office. His request was granted, and he addressed some words of affectionate counsel to the church, embodied in a treatise entitled, "An Ornament for Church Members." The manuscript was carefully preserved by the church, and published after Mr. Screven's death. No copy of this treatise, as far as I can learn, has come down to us. Morgan Edwards, who, a century ago journeyed from New Hampshire to Georgia, gathering "Materials Toward a History of the Baptists," had a copy in his possession, probably while in Charleston. A quotation which he made from the closing paragraph is as follows: "And now, for a close of all, my dear brethren and sisters (whom God hath made me, poor unworthy me, an instrument of gathering and settling in the faith and order of the gospel), my request is that you as speedily as possible supply yourselves with an able and faithful minister. Be sure you take care that the person be orthodox in the faith, and of blameless life, and does own the confession put forth by our brethren in London, in 1689."

But Mr. Screven did not at this time wholly withdraw from ministerial service. Having received a grant of land, on which Georgetown now stands, he removed thither, and as opportunity offered and his strength permitted, he preached to the destitute around him. In 1706, the Baptist church in Boston, which had in vain endeavored to secure a pastor in England, turned to Mr. Screven in its extremity, and earnestly entreated him to return to New England, and take the pastoral oversight of the church by which he was ordained. Although so far advanced in years, he was at first inclined to accede to this request; but just at this time his successor in the pastorate in the church in Charles-

ton died, and receiving a call from the church to return and resume his pastoral labors with them he felt that he could not decline, and he sent to the church in Boston, accordingly, the following letter, dated June 2, 1707: —

Dearly beloved, this may inform you that I have many thoughts of heart about you, and am much concerned for you; and hope I may say, my prayers are to God for you. Though I am not with you, nor can I come as I was inclined to do, our help being taken from us: for our minister who came from England is dead, and I can by no means be spared. I must say it is a great loss, and to me a great disappointment, but the will of the Lord is done. I have longed to hear that you were supplied with an able minister, who might break the bread of life among you; but if the Lord do not please to supply you in the way you expected, your way will be to improve the gifts you have in the church. Brother Callender and Joseph Russell I know have gifts that may tend to edification, if improved. I think you should call one or both of them to it.

The church in Boston acted upon this suggestion, and called Mr. Callender, to whom Mr. Screven wrote August 6, 1708, as follows: —

I rejoice that you are inclined to, and employed in, the blessed work of the Lord for the support of his cause. [And the letter closes with these words:] I have been brought very low by sickness, but I bless God I was helped to preach and administer the communion last Lord's day, but am still weak. Our society are for the most part in health, and I hope thriving in grace. We are about ninety in all. I rest your affectionate brother and fellow-laborer, in the best of services, for the best reward.

It is not thought that Mr. Screven removed his family to Charleston at this time; but his labors in behalf of the church which he had formed, and to which he had given so much of the strength of the best years of his life, were continued as he was able until his death, which occurred at Georgetown, October 10, 1713, at the completion of the eighty-fourth year of his age. Pure in life, affectionate in disposition, abundant in every good work, honored and revered by all, he commended the Gospel which he preached, and came to the "grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season." His tomb on Screven street, in Georgetown, is still to be seen, and his memory is lovingly cherished, not only by a numerous posterity* — he had

*The descendants of William Screven are among the most honored of the people of South Carolina at the present day.

eleven children — but by the Baptists of South Carolina and of all the Southern states.

In the interest of bibliography I may add that Rev. William G. Whilden of Greenville, South Carolina, one of Mr. Screven's descendants to whom I am indebted for some of the materials of this paper, informs me that Mrs. Schoolcraft, formerly a resident of Beaufort, S. C., wrote a history of the Screven family which was published. He had heard, however, of only a single copy, which was destroyed in Sherman's raid; and my own inquiries with reference to the book have not as yet brought to light another copy.

THE FOUR JUDGES OF NORTH YARMOUTH.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 20, 1886.

BY REV. AMASA LORING.

THE early history of Cumberland county reveals the significant fact that four of the Judges of its early Court of Common Pleas were inhabitants of North Yarmouth. When the first was appointed the town was comparatively young, only about forty years having elapsed from the beginning of its permanent settlement, and from its second incorporation. Its population and business relations were small. It was remote from the seat of provincial power and could have had but few friends or advocates near the appointing personages. Still within about thirty years, these four men, not previously of great public notoriety, not learned in the law — but men of good native endowments, of unflinching integrity, of sound judgment, of unsullied reputation, or as the statute expressed it, "substantial persons" — were placed in that honorable and responsible position.

The period of their administration was peculiar. It embraced the incipient struggles and eventual political convulsions of the Revolution, the transition from colonial dominion to state authority, the introduction of a new code of laws, without precedents, judicial rules, or authoritative decisions. Yet one of them passed through the whole period of these civic commotions undisturbed in his judicial activity; two held office during a part of it; all except one, who resigned, held their places for more than twenty years, two dying in office, and three were in succession Chief Justices of the Court.

According to William Willis, Esq., the Court met as usual in July, 1775; but no sheriff was present, no jury had been summoned, no entries were made, no cases tried, and it adjourned after deciding two cases which had been continued from the previous term. But in October, 1776, it met again and proceeded with its business, not recognizing the authority of the King, but of the people.

During this period the Judges were not compensated by a fixed salary, but received a certain amount for every entry and trial; and this was divided among them and the clerk. In those Revolutionary times the pay was very small, but it increased rapidly at a later period.

The legal profession was not then crowded; trials were not then intolerably drawn out, and "law questions" did not burst out like leaves in springtime. True there was then a Superior Court, answering in all respects to the present Supreme Court, but it held only two terms each year in the "District of Maine," and kept its records in Boston; so that in all probability appeals were not eagerly made, and the Inferior Court arbitrated most of the legal controversies.

Removed, as we now are, nearly a century from the public services of these men, it is not easy to make up a full biography of any of them; but a few scraps of their personal history, still to be found, can be snatched from oblivion.

JEREMIAH POWELL.

Jeremiah Powell was the first of these judges. He was the only son of John Powell, Esq.; was born in Boston, and lived there until he attained manhood. As the history of father and son is closely interwoven, it becomes necessary to notice briefly that of the former.

John Powell was born in Charlestown, Mass., March 7, 1669, or more probably 1683, and married Anne Dummer, a sister of Lieutenant Governor William Dummer. As Mr. Dummer left at his death no children of his own, he bequeathed a large part of his property to the children of his sister, Mrs. Powell, and thus increased the wealth of Judge Powell. Mr. Powell was Governor Dummer's private secretary for the next few years after his marriage, and eventually engaged in mercantile business in Boston. His connection with North Yarmouth comes into notice with its third and permanent settlement. Twice had its pioneer settlers fled from their savage invaders, leaving their homes to be plundered and burnt, and their possessions to be laid waste.

In 1684, this large township had been granted by Thomas Danforth to Jeremiah Dummer, Walter Gendall, John York

and John Royall, as Trustees, to lot out and deed to actual settlers; its boundaries were established, its name given it, and a Proprietor's record began containing a registry of the lots conveyed to individual occupants. But in September, 1688, Captain Gendall was shot by the hostile savages, and the settlement soon after was abandoned. Thus it remained for about thirty years. Then it was hoped that peace was established, and some of the surviving fugitives began to return to these inviting acres. But those years had wrought their changes; landmarks were blotted out, boundary lines obliterated, and the fields, abandoned in lovely fruitfulness, had lapsed into a rising forest. So after a few years of contested claims and doubtful titles, the incoming settlers and other claimants petitioned the General Court to appoint a committee to resume the work of the former Trustees. In 1722, such a committee was appointed. It consisted of William Tailor, Elisha Cook, William Dudley, John Smith, and John Powell, Esq., who was one of the petitioners.

This committee soon met at the dwelling-house of Mr. Powell in Boston, organized for business, chose a Clerk, and instructed him to procure the former records, which had been saved, and adopted rules to regulate their official measures. In 1727, they met at the inn of Joseph Parker in North Yarmouth, and carefully investigated all claims to landed estates in the township, and laid out and assigned one hundred house lots of ten acres each, the owners of which were to have a farm lot of one hundred acres in a more remote location. The former settlers who could identify their old possessions received them, others drew theirs by lot, the Committee executing deeds to each possessor. It seemed desirable that one of this committee should become a resident of the town. Mr. Powell consented to do so, leaving the city for a backwoods life, Mrs. Powell — a highly estimable lady — not accompanying him. He took a wild lot, subdued the forest, built an elegant mansion and there eventually enjoyed the comforts and luxuries which his independent means provided. The committee authorized him to act in place of the full board and instructed the settlers to follow his advice. In 1733, the town was again incorporated and assumed the management of further land conveyances, and this committee, at their own request, was discharged from further duties. But Mr. Powell continued to reside in the new town, having identified himself with

the business and prosperity of that rising community. He became a large landholder, built a saw and linen mills, and obtained from the town a grant of the upper falls at the village and forty acres of land on condition that he would erect iron works thereon. He was intrusted with much of the public business of the town; and in 1735 received the appointment of "Justice of the Peace" for York county, which then included all the "District of Maine." He departed this life October 1, 1742, and his son, Jeremiah, came into possession of his estate; having two sisters who generally dwelt with him.

He was more enterprising in business than his honored father had been, pushing the sales of his wild lands; and in 1756 he started iron works on the Gooch Falls, in company with Theophilus Byram and others, in accordance with the grant to his father. He occupied the capacious dwelling which his father had erected, and carried on the farm and maintained an expensive style in his domestic arrangements, keeping a colored coachman and cook, the latter acting as housekeeper when his sisters were absent. His farm hands spoke of him as a kind, generous employer. He remained unmarried till a late period of life. On September 15, 1768, he married Miss Sarah Bromfield of Boston, and installed her as mistress of his mansion. They had no children, but he displayed a fondness for the little ones, and would show especial attention to those of the families upon which he called.

In his religious character he was quite decided. In his early manhood he united with the Congregational church, and its records show that he was more than a merely nominal member. In the absence of its pastor, he often presided at its meetings and acted on committees, and he superintended the enlargment of the old meeting-house, and the sale of its additional pews.

More than twenty years after his father's death he constructed a tomb in the old burying-ground, into which the remains of his father and those of Rev. Nicholas Loring were removed; and in this tomb the sacred dust of Judge Powell and of many of Mr. Loring's children is deposited. The spot is designated by a plain marble stone bearing the following inscription: —

Here lies buried the body of
JOHN POWELL, ESQ.,
Aged 59 years, who dec'd Oct. 1st, 1742.

If we assumed the gravestone to be the most trustworthy witness, the year of his birth would be 1683, not 1669.

The record of Judge Powell's public life is more distinctly given. In August, 1744, he was appointed by Governor Shirley, Justice of the Peace for York county, and again in 1753. In 1761 he had the same office for Cumberland county. In 1745 he was elected to represent North Yarmouth in the General Court of the Province, and from that year to 1766 he was re-elected eleven times to the same office.

In 1756 he headed a petition to the Colonial authorities requesting them to secure the release of certain captives, who had been carried to Canada by the Indians; among these was Daniel Mitchell of North Yarmouth, who afterwards became the son-in-law of Judge Lewis. In 1762 he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel, subaltern to Colonel Samuel Waldo, and from this date he was usually called Colonel Powell. The same year thirty of the early settlers of New Gloucester petitioned him to assist them in resisting an encroachment, which the proprietors of New Boston (Gray) were making upon the western side of their township, by running, as they affirmed, a new and incorrect line.

When the county of Cumberland was set off from York county (1760) John Minot of Gorham was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He retired from his seat the next year, and in 1763 Colonel Powell was appointed to fill the vacancy, and the same year made Chief Justice, which office he held until 1781. In 1767 he was appointed Justice of the Peace throughout the whole Province of Massachusetts, and in 1762 he was appointed a Special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, to fill a temporary vacancy or perform some special service. In 1766 he became a member of the Provincial Council, and retained the office till 1774. Then the charter of Massachusetts was changed and the people were not allowed to elect the Council. General Thomas Gove, as Royal Governor, arrived in Boston in April, 1774, and by a "Writ of Mandamus," appointed twenty-six Councilors. Ten of them accepted the appointment, and took the oath of office, generally against the remonstrances of the patriots. The other sixteen, of which Judge Powell was one, declined the appointment.

Influential neighbors urged to this, for the people of North Yarmouth were decidedly opposed to British tyranny, and he became a leader in the Revolutionary movements.

This is happily verified by an old letter which Mr. S. P. Mayberry of Cape Elizabeth contributed to the "North Yarmouth Old Times," written by Judge Powell, and which I insert entire.

NORTH YARMOUTH, Oct. 24, 1775.

To the Honorable Council and to the Honorable House of Representatives of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay: —

May it please your Honors: —

Last evening came to this town from the "Halifax," armed schooner belonging to a fleet, viz:—Canceaux, the Semistree, and the Spitfire, lying in Hog Island Roads, under the command of Capt. Mowat, three men, deserters from said schooner from a watering place in Hog Island, where they with one man more, under command of a midshipman, went on shore to take in water.

They came and delivered themselves up to some of our Militia, who were at work erecting a Battery on the shore and gave us the following intelligence: — That on Monday the 16th current the s'd Fleet arrived in Casco Bay. That the same day their orders were read unto them, which were to burn, sink and destroy everything to the Eastward of Boston, that they could not conveniently carry off with them. That Tuesday the Fleet went up to Falmouth and came to in a line before the Town. That Wednesday morning about 9 o'clock they began to fire upon the Town and about two hours after the fire began, boats were sent ashore to fire the houses by hand, that the men went on shore unarmed, and to their apprehension not more than twenty were on shore at any one time. Farther they say that the greater part of the buildings that were burnt were fired by hand. The men's names are Charles Stuart, Quartermaster; John Elliot and Daniel Streetland, Foremastmen; the two first taken out of a vessel which they took and are now detained in Boston Harbor, the last impressed out of a Schooner at Halifax. The men gave a fair and honest account of themselves and agree very well in their relations of the aforementioned truths.

We have sent them to the Committee at Scarborough to be forwarded to the General Court at Watertown, where when they arrive, your Honors will have opportunity for further examination as may be thought proper.

The Yawl in which they made their escape is now in our keeping and we should be glad to receive orders what shall be done with her.

I am your Honors, most obedient Servant,

JERE POWELL,
Chairman of Committee of Safety.

Let it be recollected that he had then been upon the bench twelve years, meantime holding the place of Councilor.

After the battle of Lexington the Provincial Congress declared Gov. Gove disqualified for the service of Governor, and in October following he sailed for England.

It should be observed that Judge Powell was in the Council twelve years in all. After Massachusetts adopted a state constitution and established a Senate, Judge Powell was elected to it, and by re-election continued a member of it until his death. He was chosen president of that body at its first assembling.

We get a glimpse of his precision in official duties and also his boldness in reproving delinquents from an entry in Rev. Mr. Deane's Journal. At the term of the court in April, 1765, soon after Mr. Deane's settlement as colleague pastor with Dr. Thomas Smith, neither of these clergymen came in to open the court with prayer, as was the custom. It was also usual for the judges, lawyers and clergymen, on the first day of the term to dine together at some one of the hotels. At the dinner table Mr. Deane presented himself, but he left on record "that he wished he had not gone," for Judge Powell did not shrink from reproving him sharply. "It is a hard case," said he, "when there are two of you we cannot have one. I will bring my own minister, if I can get no one else here to pray with us. The minister can hear the bell and he knows when he is wanted."

Parson Smith was on very intimate social relations with Judge Powell and was thoroughly acquainted with him. In recording his death at North Yarmouth, September 17, 1784, he wrote: "Jeremiah Powell was a man of great respectability and influence. His father was John Powell, who came from Boston and settled in North Yarmouth in the early days of that settlement, and was admitted an inhabitant of Falmouth," unasked, to induce him to settle there. He then mentioned the offices he had held, which have been enumerated above. If the date of his birth was rightly given his age at death was sixty-four, but Mr. Shepley states that it was about seventy, and others confirm that statement. His widow, born April 20, 1732, survived till March, 1806.

JONAS MASON.

The second cititizen of North Yarmouth who received this appointment was Jonas Mason. He was born in Lexington, Mass., October 21, 1708, and was the son of John junior, and Elizabeth

Spring Mason. His earliest American ancestor was Hugh Mason, an emigrant from England, and one of the first settlers of Watertown. There he was made freeman in 1635, and represented that town for ten years in the General Court. Jonas Mason is to be reckoned in the fourth generation from Hugh — John and John junior, intervening. The father of Jonas settled in Lexington in 1699, and his family were reared in that town. Thaddeus, a son older than Jonas, graduated at Harvard College in 1728, entered the legal profession, was Clerk of Courts, and lived until 1802, dying at the age of ninety-six. Jonas in his youth was apprenticed to a hatter, though it does not appear that he ever followed the trade which he learned, but this apprenticeship may account for his residence in Charlestown. There he united with the Congregational church in 1727. In 1731, or earlier, he removed to North Yarmouth, Maine, and settled on a farm, adjoining the old Bashford place. He had previously married Mary Chandler of Duxbury, by whom he had seven children, all born in North Yarmouth. The felling of the first tree in the New Gloucester township, with a view to settlement, is ascribed to him; but it is certain that he never dwelt there, though his oldest son, Ebenezer, made that town his home.

In February 1732, Mr. Mason transferred his relation to the First Congregational church in North Yarmouth, his wife also uniting by profession in July following. In 1737, the office of deacon became vacant in that church, and Jacob Mitchell and Jonas Mason were elected to it, the latter holding it till his death, March 13, 1801, sixty-three years.

As a Christian his reputation was unsullied, and he discharged his duties as a member and officer of the church to the entire satisfaction of his fellow-Christians. His doctrinal position can best be learned from the history of that church during his connection with it. When he entered it, Rev. A. R. Cutter was its pastor. Though a man of learning and talents, according to Parson Smith, he was "an outspoken and contentious Arminian." His views and religious experience did not accord with the creed or the inward convictions of the members of that ancient and orthodox church. Dissatisfaction was expressed, a mutual council was called, and the result of its deliberations was a decision that if, after three months' farther trial the church

should vote "*still uneasy*," such vote should sever the pastoral relation. At the expiration of the specified time the church so voted, the town concurring, only one, Mr. Peter Weare, protesting.

With Mr. Cutter's successor, Rev. Nicholas Loring, who met the demands of the people as to doctrinal soundness and experimental piety, Deacon Mason lived and worked with the utmost harmony. His gentle, pacific spirit did not allow him to join with the stalwart opponents of Parson Brooks, but he cordially received and co-operated with Mr. Brooks' successor, Rev. Tristram Gilman, renowned for his evangelical views and distinguished success in the ministry. Few, if any, in those troublous times came nearer "keeping a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man" than Deacon Mason, of whom the writer has heard persons that remembered him say, "He was one of the best of men."

His capacities and trustworthiness in public business were soon appreciated by his townsmen. After the town became incorporated, and the committee for re-settling the township had resigned their office, and committed the farther control and conveyance of the unappropriated wild lands to the legal inhabitants, it was found necessary to choose a committee of the proprietors to superintend this business, of which Judge Mason was one, and was elected clerk of the same. For many years he either held this or the treasurer's office; meanwhile he was often town assessor and one of the selectmen, and also a member of the parish committee. In 1752, he was appointed Justice of the Peace for York county, and in 1760 for Cumberland county. In April, 1764, and in August, 1765, he was appointed to act as a Special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Cumberland county.

In 1773, upon the retirement of Hon. Edward Milliken from the bench of the Court of Common Pleas for Cumberland county, Mr. Mason was appointed to succeed him. His associates in office were Jeremiah Powell, Chief Justice; and Enoch Freeman, Moses Pearson (till 1775), Solomon Lombard (after 1776) as Associate Justices. These men were appointed and commissioned by the subordinate officers of "his Majesty," and their oaths of office must have enjoined loyalty to the Crown.

But resistance to the oppressive acts of the English government was well-nigh universal, and soon ripened into open hostilities. These judges however felt themselves to be officers of the people as well as of "his Majesty," and quietly held on their way. After the Declaration of Independence the General Court of Massachusetts assumed control of Colonial and county affairs, ejecting none who held office unless they were decided Tories. The courts pursued their usual course, with a few omitted terms — dropping the name of the king from their writs and executions, and substituting the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Only two of the pre-revolutionary judges of this court resigned their seats; one of these was Judge Mason. His resignation, however, was not from conscientious or political scruples, as he did not vacate the office until 1777, but most probably for the practical reason that the pay was so meager. This depended upon the number of entries and trials — the four judges and clerk of courts dividing the fees among them. According to Mr. Willis, for the year 1776, these numbered nine only, and for 1777, fifteen, though after the war was over the entries and trials rose to near two hundred.

In respect to property, Judge Mason was never affluent. He cultivated the farm upon which he first settled in North Yarmouth, his youngest son residing with him. This son, Captain Samuel Mason, was the first collector of customs in Falmouth District under the king, and afterward held the same office under the United States. Judge Mason was not great in legal or literary attainments, but in those qualities which made him "a substantial person" he was not behind his associates. He lived in his early home sincerely respected by appreciative acquaintances until ninety-three years of age, departing this life March 13, 1801, his wife having died six years before him.

DAVID MITCHELL.

Upon the retirement of Judge Mason from the bench, David Mitchell, was appointed to fill the vacancy. He was the son of Deacon Jacob Mitchell and his second wife, Widow Rachel (Lewis) Cushing, and was born in Pembroke, Nov. 26, 1728. When he was about fifteen years of age he removed with his father to North Yarmouth. His father died there Dec. 1, 1784.

David became an early occupant of the old "Mitchell House," in which he lived till the close of his life. This ancient mansion, now known as "The Olk Whitcomb House," is, with one exception, the oldest house in town still standing, though now uninhabited and tottering to its fall.

In his youth David displayed such scholarly capabilities that he was favored with a liberal education, graduating at Harvard College in the class of 1751 — the first of that name who graduated in America. For a while he engaged in teaching, and in 1753 he professed religion and united with the First Congregational church of North Yarmouth. He then commenced the study of divinity, and preached in some of the neighboring towns; but a weakness in his eyesight troubled him, and he abandoned the ministry as a permanent profession. He resumed teaching, for which he had peculiar and eminent qualifications; and these gave the youth of that place educational advantages far above those usually enjoyed in new settlements. For many years he taught the town grammar school, excelling as a teacher and also in practicing a mild and firm discipline, which his pupils in their advanced years were proud to mention.

August 27, 1761, he married Lucretia Loring, eldest daughter of Rev. Nicholas Loring, both of them being of the fifth generation of their respective families, that had dwelt in New England. Twelve children were born to them, seven of whom died early; but their sons, who attained to manhood, were distinguished for integrity, usefulness and elevated positions in society.

It is related of Judge Mitchell, that not long before his marriage, as he was returning one night from a visit to his elect lady, while crossing a deep ravine, a stalwart savage sprung upon him to capture him. As he was mounted he put his horse to the top of his speed, the Indian giving chase with great fleetness. Each held about an even course, and upon arriving at the stockade which surrounded his home, the gate was fortunately standing open, and he rushed through and escaped, as the savage did not dare to enter.

From the time of his marriage his public career was more noted. In 1762, he was elected town clerk, and continued to be re-elected every year to the time of his death, a full third of a century. He and several of his descendants excelled in pen-

manship. This and an exactness and elegance of language made those records an unsurpassed model of neatness and correctness. He also held other important town offices. In 1764, he was appointed a justice of the peace, and secured quite a business in that capacity, although his fellow judges all shared in such patronage.

When the Revolutionary strife had risen to an irreconcilable pitch, the Province of Massachusetts resolved to hold a popular Congress, without the authority or license of the Crown. It met in Salem, October, 1774. If the uprising of the Colonies had been crushed this assembly would have been treated as treasonable. North Yarmouth, ever patriotic, was represented in this Congress, sending to it as its delegate John Lewis. The next May it met in Watertown, and Mr. Mitchell was elected to attend it, and likewise to several others which succeeded it.

When the Constitution of the United States was submitted to the people for adoption in 1788, Judge Mitchell was elected to the Massachusetts Convention, to which it was submitted for ratification, and he afterward exerted his whole influence in town meeting to secure its favorable reception by the people. In the years 1791 and 1795, he was elected to the Senate from Cumberland county, and in that select company he secured the reputation of a good statesman. He was appointed an associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1778, and retained a seat upon the bench until his death, in 1796, a period of eighteen years.

We here correct the statement of Hon. William Willis, and others after him, that his office terminated in 1786. A careful examination of Mr. Willis' record shows that no new member was appointed from 1784 to 1789, and then to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Enoch Freeman in 1788, which would have been done earlier if Judge Mitchell had retired in 1786. Still more conclusive is the statement of Rev. T. Gilman, found in the funeral discourse preached on the occasion of his death, March 20, 1796. "About nineteen years since he was appointed a judge in the Court of Common Pleas for this county, which office he sustained with dignity and to universal satisfaction the remainder of his life. His charges to the grand jury were very sensible, judicious, comprehensive and solemn." This last remark

indicates that he was chief justice, and so his reverend pastor affirms in the title page of the above-mentioned sermon. When he was advanced to that more responsible and arduous position it is not known, only that Chief Justice Powell vacated it in 1781, in the third year of Mr. Mitchell's office as an associate judge. It is also said, that while in this influential position, he sought carefully to diminish litigation by advising and persuading parties to make an amicable settlement of their disagreements; and this it should be remembered when the income of his office depended upon the number of cases entered and tried in court. He carefully investigated both judicial and ecclesiastical questions submitted to him, and having made up his mind as to what was just and right, he was unswerving in his adherence to such conclusions.

In the Act which incorporated Bowdoin College, June, 1794, Judge Mitchell was named as one of the trustees, and in its first meeting that board elected him its treasurer. As six townships of wild land had been granted to that institution in the original act, the treasurer had onerous duties in locating and selling them from the beginning.

Let it not be inferred that, because Judge Mitchell relinquished the work of the ministry, he abated in the least his confidence in or attachment to the Christian religion, for he maintained an elevated and unspotted reputation as a Christian through his whole active life. In 1770, he was elected to the office of deacon, and retained the same till his death, "having used the office well." Rev. Mr. Gilman presents him as "a worthy model in all the relations of life — as a finished gentleman of the old school. To the distressed he was compassionate; to the poor, kind and helpful; to the young and unlearned, a teacher by precept and example. Nor was he backward in performing duties then quite uncommon with laymen, in leading social meetings, in conducting public worship in the absence of a minister, in attending ecclesiastical councils to which he was often sent, and in earnest solicitude for and ready endeavors to secure revivals of religion, with which during his connection with it the church was remarkably blest."

In the early spring of 1796, while attending a session of the Senate, his final sickness overtook him. Hoping to recover, he

remained a few weeks in Boston, but he sunk rapidly to a low and hopeless state. He then returned home, thankful that he was permitted to die in the bosom of his beloved family. His strength was nearly exhausted, but with faltering voice he spake words of advice and pious exhortation to his sorrowing friends. Sustained by his hope of eternal life, and assured that he had not believed in vain, on the Sabbath, the next day after his arrival home, March 13, 1796, he expired, and passed to an endless Sabbath in the realms of light, aged sixty-seven.

HON. JOHN LEWIS.

Hon. John Lewis was the last of these four judges, and was the second that held the office till his death. He was born in Hingham, Mass., June 14, 1717, and was the fifth generation from George Lewis, the elder of two brothers, who emigrated to these shores some time previous to 1633.

He sprang from a distinguished family, no less than twelve of the name having graduated from Harvard and Yale before his time. It was also decidedly religious. Two of his near kinsmen were clergymen, and several of the females married ministers, and he was trained according to the careful and pious customs of those noteworthy times. Not liberally, but academically educated, his affluent native endowments and unswerving integrity fitted him for the responsible positions he occupied in subsequent life.

In the early part of 1743, he left Hingham and came to North Yarmouth, where several of his relatives and acquaintances were already settled. The next year war was declared between France and England, beginning what was known in New England as "The French and Indian Wars," and as the French Jesuits then had full control of most of the Indian tribes in the wilds of Maine and Canada, it was expected that an Indian invasion, with all its horrors, would burst upon our frontier settlements. The young men of that day expected to be called upon to breast the dangers and hardships of savage warfare, and though North Yarmouth was still a frontier town, Mr. Lewis chose, if he must gird himself for the battle, to take his risk near the front, where he had friends and acquaintances. But the Indian enemy did not attack the town with a large marauding

force, but small parties made frequent raids, killing some of the settlers and taking their families captive. In 1746, a party numbering thirty-two concealed themselves in a gully by night in the outskirts of the village, evidently intending to attack Mr. Weare's garrison, after the men had gone to their work in the morning, and capture the women and children; but Mr. Philip Greely rode by early in the morning, and his dog discovered them, upon which they rose and shot Mr. Greely and departed, without further molesting the settlement.

Mr. Lewis' plans for life were not seriously interrupted by that raid. He cultivated the arts and secured the blessings of peace. Upon Coussins island he purchased a farm and there was his first place of residence, and there all of his children were born. On the 20th of November, 1746, he married Mary Mitchell, eldest daughter of Deacon Jacob and Mary Howland Mitchell. She was born in Pembroke, June 23, 1723, and was a sister of Colonel Jonathan Mitchell, who led a regiment to Bagaduce. About 1760, he purchased a large lot of land adjoining the Royall place on the northwest, extending from Royall to Coussins rivers; upon this he cleared up a farm, built a substantial house, which is still standing; and there he spent the remainder of his days. After his death this tract underwent some division, but his homestead was the part recently known as the Ezekiel Merrill place, though it had been previously occupied by his son and grandson.

Being thoroughly educated as a land-surveyor, he was often employed in that business, lotting out a part of New Gloucester and other new towns in that vicinity, and also in dividing and running out lots for private parties in all the surrounding regions. His "Field Books," were kept until recently and are well remembered by some of his descendants for their distinct and accurate records and attractive penmanship.

His religious character is not now easily portrayed. The loss of his journal has swept away the most desirable evidence of it, and this can not be replaced. Soon after his marriage, December 13, 1747, he and his wife publicly professed religion and joined the First Congregational church. From that time he became one of its leading members. Then, too, the most eminent men in town were members of that church, so that decided

ability and merit alone would secure a pre-eminence; but he was placed upon important committees, and called to attend to ecclesiastical matters. His piety was an every-day possession, a formative force of his character and actions. In 1796, a vacancy occurred in the deacon's office, and he was elected to fill it, being the third judge who had been called to that place, and he retained this office till his death.

As early as 1759 he was upon the board of town assessors and frequently afterward one of the selectmen. In 1779, he was appointed a justice of the peace, and many of the early deeds were made by and acknowledged before him. His appointment seems to have been made by the Honorable Council. But not till the breaking out of the Revolutionary conflict do we get acquainted with his public life, or many data, from which to form an estimate of his standing and character. In 1774, he was elected a delegate from North Yarmouth to the first Provincial Congress convened by the Colony of Massachusetts. It met in Salem, October 7, 1774. This was a bold step, a revolutionary measure, indicating most decidedly the temper of the people, and the readiness of our honored sires to strike for redress of grievances and for liberty. Not fearing the wrath of the King, nor of his arbitrary and oppressive Governor, he went and braved the danger. This body supplied the place of, and eventually shaped itself into the General Court of Massachusetts. It next met in Watertown, April 12, 1775. To this David Mitchell was sent from North Yarmouth as delegate; but Mr. Lewis was appointed by that body a committee of correspondence for the North Yarmouth district, "to afford assistance at all times in suppressing the enemies of American liberty." By the same Congress he was appointed on a committee (May 2 at Watertown) "to consider what measures are proper to be taken for liberating those persons who were taken prisoners by the troops of General Gage, on the 19th of April last." This date is significant. It calls to mind the battle of Concord and Lexington — the initiatory appeal to arms in the Revolutionary conflict.

How many times Mr. Lewis was elected as a member of that body I am not able to say; but he was evidently often at the Colonial seat of government and had much to do with the public affairs of those troublous times. An old receipt which has es-

caped the destroyer, brings to light a little speck of female patriotism and shows that Mr. Lewis was a member of the General Court. In this paper Asa Lewis receipted to widow Huldah Mitchell for £15 lawful money, which his father was to take to the Provincial treasurer, as a government loan, and Mr. Asa Lewis bound himself to return her a government note for that amount or to restore to her the money. This was in the fall of 1777 — the darkest period in our contest. Let this noble act of Mrs. Huldah Mitchell be long remembered.

Another public appointment brings Judge Lewis into notice, and shows how highly he was esteemed by the public. It is not forgotten that, October 18, 1775, the greater part of Falmouth village (now Portland), was laid in ashes by Capt. Henry Mowat of the Royal Navy. His provocation for committing this unwarranted and savage piece of vandalism upon an inoffensive people was a personal affront given him by "Brigadier Thompson" the spring previous. In the latter part of April, 1775, Captain Mowat, in a small naval vessel, the "Canceau," came into Falmouth harbor, and at the same time Captain Coulson, a citizen of Falmouth, was at home with a ship that he commanded. Coulson was a zealous Tory, and the coming of Mowat awakened many fears and a widespread excitement. Samuel Thompson of Topsham was then a lieutenant colonel in the militia, and also a member of the Provincial Congress. Hearing of Mowat's arrival, he came over with a company of soldiers in boats, landed quietly and unobserved on the back side of Munjoy hill, intending to get possession of Mowat's vessel. Mowat knew nothing of this; he had gone ashore with his surgeon, and was walking out with Captain Coulson and Rector Wiswell, the Episcopal minister of Falmouth, who also was an ardent Royalist, unarmed and unsuspecting. These sympathizing friends unwittingly went near to Thompson's encampment, and he improved the opportunity by seizing the two English officers and hurrying them into confinement. This produced great alarm among the people, and threw the crew of the "Canceau" into a towering passion. The people of Falmouth had no hand in it, had not heard of Colonel Thompson's arrival, did not generally approve of this arrest, and besought him to liberate his enraged prisoners. Accordingly they were liberated, and Mowat left

terribly incensed at the audacity of Colonel Thompson, and eager to resent, by summary punishment, the indignity shown to a British officer. But without permission from the commander of the squadron he dared not attempt retaliation, and this he finally obtained by strong and persistent entreaty. So on the sixteenth of October, 1775, he again sailed into the harbor with five small cruisers, anchored menacingly before the town, and on the afternoon of the seventeenth notified the inhabitants that in two hours he should bombard the town. The people were appalled, and besought him to grant them a respite. This he granted, and they were allowed till the next day to prepare for the worst. On the eighteenth he opened fire upon an unresisting town, as has been narrated above.

These needy sufferers obtained immediate relief from sympathizing neighbors, and afterward, through influential friends in England, sought assistance from the kind-hearted there; but it secured nothing from them except "Be ye warmed and filled." The selectmen and a committee of the town also sought aid from the General Court, stating clearly that they were in no way responsible for Captain Mowat's arrest, and also showing that their loss of property amounted to fifty-five thousand pounds. This necessarily brought Colonel Thompson's official doings into notice, and convinced that body that they required investigation. So in 1779, the General Court appointed Samuel Freeman of Falmouth, John Lewis of North Yarmouth, and William Gorham of Gorham, an investigating committee to inquire into this seizure of Mowat, and other questionable military proceedings. These facts are learned from a letter from Mr. Freeman to John Lewis, which I here insert.

SACO, Oct. 13, 1779.

DEAR SIR: — By the bearer (Mr. Hewes) who rides in company with me and is going to North Yarmouth, I take the opportunity (which will save me the expense of sending somebody on purpose) to inform you that the General Court have appointed you and I (me) and Mr. Gorham to inquire into the complaint of the Selectmen and Committee of Falmouth against Brigadier Thompson and Colonel Noyes; and the first letter against them and others is committed to us; so we are a Court of Inquiry authorized to inquire into the military character and conduct of almost all the militia officers in the county. This is of importance to the officers, and may, in its consequences, be so to the county; and as the Recess is short, and as it is necessary the business should be com-

pleted before the (Gen.) Court meets again, I thought it must be immediately attended to; — especially as our Inferior Court will take up near one week of the Recess. I should therefore be extremely glad if you would come to Falmouth on Thursday next and meet Mr. Gorham and I (myself) in order to agree upon a time when the inquiry shall begin, and the mode of notifying the parties.

If you cannot come to Falmouth on Thursday, come and take dinner with me at Saccarappa on Friday.

I am your most obedient Ser.

SAM'L FREEMAN.

The result of their deliberations is not known to the writer, neither what view they took of Colonel Thompson's inconsiderate arrest of a British officer; but there are good reasons for thinking that their report did not pass unnoticed. Not long after the General Court granted to those sufferers two townships of wild land, now known as New Portland and Freeman, which names were selected from their connection with Portland and its distinguished citizen.

After the Province of Massachusetts, then including the present state of Maine, had adopted a Constitution and taken the form of a state government, there were loud complaints that plunderers were stripping the public lands of their best timber; and at the same time many conflicting claims were in contest as to proprietorship. From "Williamson's History of Maine" we learn that these things led the General Court, May 1, 1781, to appoint a committee of five able men "to inquire into the encroachments upon all the wild lands of the state; to examine the rights and pretexts of claimants, and to prosecute obstinate intruders and trespassers; and yet to liquidate fair adjustments with all such as were disposed to do right, upon principles of equity, good faith and duty." This committee consisted of Jedediah Preble of Falmouth, Jonathan Greenleaf of New Gloucester, David Sewall of York, John Lewis of North Yarmouth, and John Lithgow of Bath. This committee had a wide range for discretionary power, and questions involving a large amount of land property were submitted to them. Many of them were satisfactorily adjusted and expensive litigation avoided, and public confidence was so much placed in them that their services were extensively sought. The heirs of Francis Small and Nicholas Shapleigh, claimants of the "Ossipee Tract" in York county

under an Indian deed one hundred and sixty years old, submitted their claim to this committee, and the General Court and proprietors both readily acquiesced in the verdict which they rendered.

In 1782 a still greater expression of public confidence in his ability, integrity and sound judgment was shown him. Upon the retirement of Chief Justice Powell from the bench, he was appointed as one of the Associate Judges, and this position he held till his death. Judge David Mitchell became chief justice and after his death Judge Lewis filled that place. For a period of forty years, one, and a part of the time two incumbents of the judicial bench were from this town, and two of them retired by resignation.

In the earlier period of this Court the compensation received by the judges probably did not meet their expenses. But later the fees were higher, and business increased so that in Judge Lewis' time of office the pay was probably remunerative. In his pecuniary circumstances he was wealthy, leaving at his death several farms to his heirs, beside his homestead. It also appears that he kept a colored servant man as did men of substance generally in those days. In his personal appearance those who can recollect say that he was tall and portly, and quite distinguished.

At length a sore affliction invaded his happy family circle. On the thirtieth day of August, 1794, his beloved wife, after a wearing indisposition, departed this life, aged seventy-one. Nearly half a century they had walked side by side, in the enjoyment of domestic, conjugal and Christian affection, and those pure relations could not be sundered without keenest suffering. Two years after, August 11, 1796, he married as a second wife, Mrs. Lydia (Paul) Worthly, widow of Samuel Worthly, who lived with him till his death and survived him less than a year.

Despite his increasing years he attended to the duties of his office until March, 1803. After a ten days' session of the Court at Portland, he returned home, and was suddenly and violently taken ill. On the next day, March 4, 1803, he expired, aged nearly eighty-six.

The final resting-place of his wives and children are duly commemorated upon the speaking marble. Beyond a doubt his would have been, if interred in a common grave; so it seems

about certain that his cold remains were committed to the "Mitchell Tomb," if not, then no man now knoweth of his sepulcher. It is related that the conquerors of Central America found a native chief who kept the embalmed bodies of his departed ancestors in a certain part of his magnificent mansion. Our refined sensibilities revolt from such barbaric reverence. We can do better. We can retain their history, cherish their memories, and enshrine their virtues and piety as a perpetual inheritance for ourselves and our children.

JOHN E. GODFREY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 28, 1885.

BY ALBERT WARE PAINE.

JOHN EDWARDS GODFREY of Bangor, whose death occurred on February 20, 1884, was born at Hampden, Maine, September 6, 1809. He was the son of John and Sophia Godfrey, the former of whom was a practicing lawyer at that place, and stood high in his profession. The father was born at Taunton, Massachusetts, May 27, 1781, and died at Bangor, May 28, 1862, at the age of eighty-one years. The mother was the daughter of Colonel Samuel Dutton, born at Hallowell, July 31, 1786. Their marriage took place at Bangor, May 21, 1806. The male line of these was in direct descent from Richard Godfrey, who settled immediately after immigration at Taunton in 1652.

In John's boyhood his father removed to Bangor with his family, and there continued to reside during the remainder of his life. In October, 1831, after a preliminary education in the public schools of Hampden and Bangor, and at the academies in Machias and Hampden, the deceased entered upon the study of the law in the office and under the instruction of the Hon. William Abbot, a leading lawyer of the bar, he having previously studied at intervals with his father for several years in the same course. He was admitted as a member of the bar, at the Court of Common Pleas, October term, 1832, and at the Supreme Judicial Court, June term, 1835. After his first admission, he opened an office and commenced practice at Calais in 1833, but, after about one year, he returned to Bangor, where he continued in the work of his profession until his death.

On May 16, 1837, he married Elizabeth Angela Stackpole, daughter of David Stackpole of Portland, by whom he had two children, John Franklin Godfrey, a lawyer of Los Angeles, California, born June 23, 1839, and George Frederick Godfrey of Bangor, born October 23, 1840. This wife died May 27,

1868, and on September 19, 1876, he married again, Laura Jane, daughter of Michael Schwartz, by whom he had one child, a daughter Ethel, born September 26, 1878, both of whom survive him.

Mr. Godfrey was for several years a member of the different boards of the City Council; in 1840-47, 1848 and 1854 to 1859 of the Common Council, during the last of which he was its president, and from 1866 to 1870, of the Board of Aldermen. He also served as a member of the school committee from 1847 to 1853 and from 1874 to 1877. In 1856, he was elected Judge of Probate for Penobscot county, and continued to serve for six successive terms in said office, to which he was thus elected by the people, for twenty-four years in all, until 1881.

In 1865, he was elected and became a member of the Maine Historical Society, and continued as such until his death, always active in its proceedings. He was also one of the originators and useful members of the Bangor Historical Society from 1864, and on the death of Hon. E. L. Hamlin was elected its president in 1873, which place he held for the remainder of his life.

During all his manhood Mr. Godfrey was an active worker and participant in almost every kind of industry and enterprise which tended to promote the public good or advance the best interests of society. He never allowed his professional work to prevent other useful employments from receiving a due share of his attention. Although he had not the advantages of a collegiate education, yet by diligent study he largely made up for the want of it, and became a scholar of high rank, gaining credit as such in various departments of study in advance of many who had enjoyed the benefits of the highest institutions of learning. His mind was stored with a fund of practical information on many subjects of useful learning, and his published writings on various subjects disclose a happy and attractive style of expression. "He held the pen of a ready writer" and a copious supply of rich material to indite.

Though well versed on many practical subjects, his particular forte was historical research and inquiry, accompanied with that success which attends diligence in application and wisdom in directing investigation. His more particular success in this line was in his explorations, as they may be called, in the early his-

tory of his own state and county. No man had probably a more perfect knowledge of the early annals of Eastern Maine, including Old Norombega and the prehistoric events of the Penobscot region, as well as the history of the city of Bangor after its inhabitancy commenced. It was in recognition of this qualification that he was selected as the orator on the occasion of Bangor's centenary celebration in 1869. The satisfactory manner with which he excuted the trust and the great value of his address, as a historical memento of the past, is uniformly recognized by all and will ever remain a monument to his memory. Upon the contemplated semi-centenary of the city's charter, on the year of his death, he alone was looked forward to as the person to perform the like part of the service, and thus finish the history which he had so faithfully brought down to the present century. His death however came just in season to defeat his candidacy and with it the celebration itself. The volume, which perpetuates the valuable history alluded to, also contains, in other contributions for the occasion, further and pleasant evidence of his literary qualities. "The Rhyme of the Ancient City Hall" and "To the Penobscot, Now" both bear testimony to a merit not to be overlooked or disregarded.

On many other occasions and in various ways did Mr. Godfrey exhibit for the benefit of the world and especially of the community inwhich he lived, peculiar talent as a writer of antique and hidden events, Volumes VII and VIII of the Maine Historical Society's "Collections" bear ample evidence of this proposition. "The Ancient Penobscot," "The Pilgrims at Penobscot," "Baron de St. Castine," "Castine the Younger," "Basheba and the Tarratines," "Norombega" and "Memorial notice of Edward Kent" are among the articles so contributed by him, and are evidence of great versatility of talent as well as of varied information. In addition to these he also furnished important contributions to the "History of Penobscot County," filling a very large portion of all the material contained within the pages of the work published in 1882, including notices of the bench and bar of his county. In a previous "History of the Press of Maine" published in 1872 and 1879, he was also a valued contributor of important material.

Closely connected with his work of historical research, as already described, is his other work as editor. Having early committed himself with zeal to the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause or the Free Soil party, he became in 1841 the editor of the Liberty Party journal, called the Bangor Gazette, which he took charge of for two years, the first year as a weekly and the second as a weekly and daily periodical. Respecting this he says in his own memorandum, "I was very industrious those two years, and trust that my labors were not wholly fruitless in some respects, although pecuniarily I was a loser." The paper was conducted with vigor and ability, and with a high character of literary merit, was a forcible exposilor of the doctrines which he thus espoused, at a time when the party was under the ban of public sentiment.

In politics, previously to his connection with the Free Soil party, he was ever a warm-hearted and enthusiastic Whig, and active in the support and spread of the principles of that party. To use his own language, "In the Harrison political campaign I was an ardent Whig, doing my share of the song-singing, parading, tramping and hurrahing, in that canorous wrangle." After the formation of the Republican party he came to be a vigorous supporter of its doctrines, and zealous always in their advocacy.

As a lawyer Mr. Godfrey ever took a high stand at the bar, as a man of learning, whose opinions were reliable and whose advice was safe to follow. He was a student of legal authors and writers, and a wise expounder of their treatises. Because of these traits he was, as already stated, in 1856 elected judge of probate for his county at the first election ever had of that office in Maine, and on five subsequent elections was re-chosen for the same position, thus giving him twenty-four successive years of administration of that important trust until 1881. As judge he was distinguished for his intimate knowledge of the probate law and for his wise and impartial judgments, characteristics which assured his continuance in the office. His judgments were seldom appealed from and much less frequently over-ruled.

Intimately connected with his other professional positions is the fact of his holding many other minor trusts of a similar kind. Beside his oft-repeated appointments as justice of the

peace and quorum, he also held the office of notary public, commissioner of deeds for the states of Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, California, Iowa, and other states, and also commissioner for taking testimony for the United States Court of Claims, and public administrator until his appointment as judge. During the war he also held the post of commissioner of enrollment until its close.

Allusion has already been made to Mr. Godfrey's interest in municipal matters, having for very many years been a member of the city government, representing his ward in both of its branches at different times. In educational affairs he was also equally interested, and as a result of this trait of his character and his peculiar qualification, he occupied the place of member of the board of superintending school committee for a great many years.

In horticulture, too, he took a deep interest. He was among the active originators of the Horticultural Society of his city and supporter of the Agricultural Society of his county. Of the former he was treasurer during almost the whole time from its formation. He was also a member of the State Pomological Society, in which he took a deep interest.

For music, too, he had a peculiar taste, and patronized all efforts to promote its cultivation. For several years he held the place of president of the Penobscot Musical Association.

He was also always distinguished for his many social virtues and his quiet and unobtrusive manners, as well as for his exemplary habits of industry and temperance. He was a man of great congeniality of feeling, and courteous in all his relations with the world, kind, generous and benevolent. Combined with these qualities, he possessed a mind of rich culture, thoroughly disciplined and stored with information and learning on all practical subjects. He was thus a gentleman whose society was very naturally courted, and whose acquaintance was very generally sought. His large library, a true outcome of his mind, was made up of volumes of every kind of useful contents and interesting information. His home was one that all could relish, as a place of genial companionship and pleasant resort, a home of comfort and of mental as well as physical enjoyment and social intercourse. It is hardly necessary to add of such a man, that

he was a father and husband who made home happy, to the exclusion of all necessity of finding elsewhere the means of pleasing entertainment and diversion.

He was a man of refined taste, and devoted to the cultivation of art in its various branches. This led him to detect and to gain a quick perception of the grand and the beautiful in nature, a quality that always exhibited itself in his practical life and habits. In the wild scenery of "Lovers'-leap" * he realized a romance peculiarly pleasant to him, which induced him to select its neighboring cliffs as the locality of his successive residences, where he spent all the later years of his mature life. The natural wildness of the scenery, overlooking the calm waters of the Kenduskeag, flowing gently by the place, but far below the level of his domicile, had an attraction, which amply repaid him for all the additional labor which the distance from his place of business daily compelled him to overcome.

Fond of humor, he always enjoyed its exercise and the telling of and listening to anecdotes and reminiscences and agreeable conversations. At the same time he was ever on his guard on such occasions against all breaches of modesty and common sense. These characteristics always made him a favorite with the young of both sexes, for however old, he never failed to be as young in feeling and expression as were his auditors or companions on such occasions. Fond of society, they were equally fond of him and always enjoyed his presence for he was eminently a social man and particularly sought for in company.

He was, too, a man of remarkably industrious habits, always busy with some useful employment for the promotion of some good to the community at large or to individuals; and nothing more conduced to his happiness than to know or feel that he had helped to make the world better, or some of its inhabitants more comfortable and happy. Nor was his benevolence wholly expended on humanity alone, for the brute creation also shared in his benevolent efforts to improve its conditions and save, through the aid of societies, its members from unnecessary and cruel treatment.

On the 20th day of February, 1884, while in his usual health,

*A very high and almost perpendicular ledge forming the bank of Kenduskeag stream, about a mile from the main river, famed for its Indian legend.

and in the full enjoyment of life, and sportively playing with his little daughter, he suddenly threw up his hands with delight at something which she had done, and expired in the midst of his laughter, while his hands were thus uplifted. Thus without a single minute's notice or warning, in the bosom of his family, with his loved wife and daughter by his side, he suddenly passed away from earth, to meet those who had gone before.

The bar of his county and the Bangor Historical Society took appropriate notice of his death, and adopted resolutions and other proceedings fitting to the occasion. The press of the city and of the state generally, as well as of other places, noticed his decease in a becoming manner. This memorial of his life and character is placed on file with the Maine Historical Society, as a memento of his worth, and appreciation as a valued member and highly-prized associate, in its work of perpetuating the history of our state.

THE MISSION OF THE ASSUMPTION

ON THE RIVER KENNEBEC, 1646–1652.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 15, 1879.

BY JOHN MARSHALL BROWN.

THE interesting episode in the early history of Maine to which I am about to refer, has either been entirely neglected by our earlier historians, or else referred to by them in terms which indicate their ignorance of its details.

The republication in 1858 of the "Relations of the Jesuits" has rendered that mine of historic wealth accessible to all, and the student may now read in the fervid language of men whose labors and suffering have scarcely a parallel the full story of their grand crusade. Much of all this, perhaps all that is of interest to the general reader, has been brought to light again in the fascinating pages of Mr. Parkman's volumes, but the local historian must go to the fountain-head and look at the facts from the standpoint of his own interest. I have ventured to do this and hope I shall not be thought arrogant in gleaning after such a harvest. Indeed I shall be disappointed if I do not convince those who are familiar with Mr. Palfrey's history and Mr. Parkman's eloquent work that the former is miserably inadequate and grossly unfair, and that even the latter has neglected to give proper prominence to the political significance of Druilletes' success and failure.

The two circumstances which more than any other contributed to destroy the independence of Maine and bring it into a dependent position and hinder its development were, *first* its adherence to the established church of England, which aroused the animosity of Massachusetts thus preventing it from joining the Confederation; and *second* the unprotected nature of its frontier and the bitter enmity of the Indians at the eastward and to the north of the settlements. How this last came about, and whose was the folly and the fault, will, I think, be made clear by a careful study of the contemporary accounts.

In 1640, one of the Algonquin Indians who had resided at the missionary settlement of Sillery on the St. Lawrence, and had occasioned the Jesuit fathers infinite trouble on account of his wayward manners, brought himself under discipline for his polygamous practices and to escape from the reprimands of the missionaries, deliberately ran away, taking with him two, at least, of his wives and their children. His place of refuge was the Kennebec, many leagues away to the southeast, and the painful journey he must have taken to reach it gives abundant evidence either of the happiness of his much-married life, or the terrors of the priestly discipline. His career, however, was short, for in the following winter he was killed in a drunken brawl by an Indian of the very tribe with whom he had sought a home and refuge. In the following summer of 1641, two Abnakis came to Quebec for the purpose of explaining matters and offering some expiation to the relatives of the murdered man. At first they narrowly escaped with their lives, but under the influence of two Christian Indians they were at last kindly received, the bereaved relatives satisfied and a lasting alliance established between the Indians of the St. Lawrence and those of the Kennebec. Previous to this date there had been but little communication between them and slight acquaintance. Thereafter the "Relations" make frequent mention of this amiable and powerful nation, destined to play a most important part in the history of the time.

Their home was on the Kennebec; they were the most powerful tribe of that great family, which, coming out of the northwest in the unknown past, had floated over the great lakes and down the St. Lawrence and crossed the highlands into Maine. This last migration was a comparatively recent tradition in 1642, for when in that year the Society of Notre Dame of Montreal celebrated their first Feast of the Assumption, and to crown the day ascended to the summit of the hill that gives its name to the city, two of the principal Indians in the party, stretching out their hands toward the hills which close up the horizon to south and east, exclaimed: "Here once were villages and very many people; here our fathers tilled the ground, but it is now deserted; all have vanished. Some have joined their conquerors and some have gone into the country of the Abnakis beyond the hills."

In 1643, a pious Indian from Sillery, under a vow, went to the

Kennebec to sow there in his humble way the seeds of the true faith. He found the English settled on the river, as they had been since 1627, and at first did not know them to be other than Frenchmen, never having seen an Englishman before. The Indians do not appear to have borne a very good character. Father Vimont says in his "Relation" that they were much given to drunkenness, and had no acquaintance or business with any but the English living there, and that from these heretics and from the vessels on the coast, they got the liquor which turned their heads. Our Canadian neophyte labored, however, faithfully and well, and on his return was accompanied by one of the Abnaki chiefs, who was baptized at Quebec, the Governor Montmagny, himself, standing as his godfather, and giving him his name.

In this same year, again on the Feast of the Assumption, as the clergy were about to offer the sacrifice of the mass, the glad intelligence was brought that two sails were visible in the river a league away. I doubt not that any sight or sound of home was very welcome to the lonesome colonists, even to the self-sacrificing missionaries themselves; in this case doubly so, for the vessels contained the Sieur D'Ailleboust, afterward to become governor, and his virgin wife * and her sister, together with the Mother Marie of St. Genevieve, and Mother Anne of St. James, and Mother Anne des Seraphins, "who had been gifted with a noble courage to surmount the dangers of the ocean and the fear of this barbarous country, and the importunate entreaties of those who would keep them in France and so divert them from this holy enterprise." With these were also Father Quentin of the Society of Jesus, and three other brothers of that company, Leonard Garreau, Noël Chabanel and Gabriel Druilletes. Great was the rejoicing, and knowing the lofty nature of these men I doubt if it would have been less sincere had it been known that in a few years Garreau and Chabanel would suffer martyrdom in the West, and Druilletes wear out his saintly life in the wilds of Maine.

During these few years the missionary settlement at Sillery, just above Quebec, had received accessions to its numbers. All nationalities and tribes were represented among the Indians

* The wife of D'Ailleboust de Coulonges was Barbe de Boulogne, who as a child had taken the vow of perpetual chastity, and was married on the condition that her vow should not be broken. See Parkman, Jesuits in North America, p. 264.

gathered from the lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay, and now from the Kennebec. The seed sown in faith was beginning to bear fruit, and the faithful labor was at last to have its reward. In 1646, in early spring, some of the Abnakis at the mission determined to go back to the Kennebec, and talk with their people, and ask them if they would not gladly "lend ear to the Word of God." Nothing was heard from them until their return on the 14th of August; this was the eve of the Assumption, and on the following day, that of the Feast itself, they made their report. The speech of the chief is preserved in the "Relations." He said that he had carried to his countrymen the good news of the Gospel, and had spoken to them of the beauty of heaven and the horrors of hell. Thirty men and ten women had promised to embrace the faith, and "all the others had urged him to go and seek for a father whom they would like to hear before giving their word." "See," he added in conclusion, "the thoughts and resolutions of my country. See if you are willing to give us a father; my people will be gathered at one place during the coming winter to hear in peace and repose the voice of him you may send." Such a petition could not be refused. The Abnakis were not within their jurisdiction, belonging rather to New England, but they had asked for the cup of salvation, and how could it be withheld? So it was decided, and the lot fell upon Gabriel Druilletes, and as this decision was reached on the Feast of the Assumption, and as he had first caught sight of the heights of Quebec on the same festival three years before, his mission was named "of the Assumption," and so afterward described.

Druilletes was in all aspects a very remarkable man; he was now fifty-three years of age, having been born in France in 1593. At his earnest solicitation, after entering the order of the Jesuits, he was after many years of service sent to Canada. He arrived as we have seen in 1643, and applied himself at once to the study of the Indian tongue. The winter of 1644 he spent with a hunting party, suffering every conceivable hardship. The smoke of the confined lodges was stifling, and at last he became hopelessly blind. Hundreds of miles of ice and snow and weary waste separated him from the little settlement at Quebec, and his Indian companions were obliged to lead him like a child;

but he was gifted not only with great endurance, but a lively and even sprightly and gay disposition, and this, with his deep religious feeling, won the hearts of his companions, and carried him through all perils. At last, while at his devotions, his eyes were opened as if by a miracle, and thenceforth his sight never failed.

Druilletes left Sillery on the 29th of August, 1646, with an escort of savages, and reached the Kennebec by way of the Chaudiere. His reception was most cordial, and from the whole neighborhood the natives flocked to see him. One of his companions acted as interpreter, but as the Abnaki tongue bore some resemblance to the Algonquin, with which he was acquainted, he soon was able to dispense with these services. He visited all the Indian villages in the neighborhood of Norridgewock, which subsequent events would seem to indicate as his headquarters, and then descended the river to the trading station at Cushnoc, now Augusta, where eighteen years before the Plymouth colonists had established themselves. Here he was well received, and visited it a second time, descending the river to the sea, and tarrying for awhile at seven or eight other English settlements on the coast. Whether he went to the west of the river is not clear; he certainly went to the eastward as far as the Penobscot, where he found (at Castine) a little hospice of the Capuchins, presided over by Father Ignatius of Paris. With the good fathers of this mission he spent some little time to refresh himself, and then returned to his charge, making the voyage in his bark canoe, and stopping again at the English settlements on the way. The Sieur Chaste had given him abundant provisions for the journey, and had moreover furnished him with letters to Winslow, who, in the interest of the Plymouth colony, commanded at Augusta or "Coussinoc." In these letters he declared that he had seen nothing in the worthy priest which was not lovable; that he was in no way interested in trade; that the general testimony of the savages was convincing as to the purity of his motives; he thought only of their instruction in spiritual things, and came amongst them to procure their salvation at the expense, if necessary, of his life. Winslow received the Father with all the courtesy and affection he could ask; he took the letters and a copy of his credentials, and shortly after left the Ken-

nebec for Plymouth and Boston. Meanwhile Druilletes ascended the river about a league where the Indians had gathered in fifteen lodges or cabins to the number of perhaps five hundred souls; here they built him a little chapel after their fashion, and as he carried with him his *chapelle du voyage*, or miniature vessels for the holy sacrifice, all the appointments were complete. By this time he had acquired sufficient knowledge of their dialect for purposes of instruction, and here he labored faithfully and patiently until the beginning of the new year 1647. He was especially tender to the sick, and by caring for their bodies at last gained their souls for heaven. He watched over them by night and tended them by day, and in the language of the Narration, God rewarded this great charity by granting health where death seemed certain.

So, too, in his general work, he was unflagging in energy and lofty zeal.

> He taught them of the Great Creator who would reward or punish them according to their works, and when he saw that the greater part of them loved to hear the glad tidings of the Gospel, he demanded of them these three things as a mark of their good will and desire to receive the Faith. *First*, they must give up the use of the seductive liquors which the fishermen on the coast had brought with them from over sea, and in their train, drunkenness and brawling and famine. This they promised to do and kept their promise as well as could be expected. *Second*, they were to give up their petty jealousies and domestic quarrels and live peaceably with each other.

The Father Superior in his account of this mission, which was published in Paris in the following year, and from which I derive these details, writes: —

> Men are men as much at the end of the world as in the middle, and as in France between two towns or hamlets there is no end of bickering and punctilio, so here in this part of our America there are like little jealousies between the different Savage Cantons.

So the father, who had representatives from many places at his little mission, exhorted them to end their disputes and love one another, and God gave them grace, and oftentimes after their wrangling they would go into the little chapel and ask pardon of Him and of each other.

The *third* demand was the most difficult to comply with. Sorcery was a part, indeed the largest part, of the Indian's relig-

ion. The "jongleurs" were a species of priest; their influence was immense, and the system which they had inherited and improved laid hold of the very foundations of savage life. They were the natural enemies of the missionaries, and their superstitions the greatest stumbling-block in the way. Druilletes, nothing daunted, assaulted them at every point with heroic zeal; he declared them to be impostors and selfish and ignorant, no better than their fellows, and finally weakened, if he did not absolutely destroy, the fetters with which they were enslaved.

On the 1st of January, 1647, the little settlement was broken up and the whole party, with their patriarch, as he was now called, ascended the Kennebec to Moosehead lake for the annual hunting expedition. In the spring, as the ice was broken, again they descended the river and Druilletes made his third visit to the English at Coussinoc. Winslow had returned and received him with open arms, and told him how he had spent the winter at Plymouth and Boston; that he had presented the letters which he had carried with him to twenty-four of the principal citizens of New England, among them four of their most celebrated ministers; that with one voice they had approved of his design, and had declared that it was a good and lovely and generous action to instruct the savages, and that they blessed God for it. "The gentlemen of the Kennebec company have charged me," said Winslow, "to bring you word that if you wish the French to build a trading-house on the Kennebec, they will gladly permit it, and that you may exercise your functions undisturbed. If you are here," he added, "many of the English will visit you," as if to imply that there were some within the limits of the settlements who were Catholics. To this Druilletes could make no promise, other than that he would write again if the plan were feasible, and so they parted, Priest and Puritan, Jesuit from Canada, Separatist from Plymouth, but none the less bound to each other by a warmth of affection, which was to last, as we shall see, for life. On the 20th of May the missionary turned his steps homeward. He visited all his pupils in their various retreats, baptizing the sick and confessing and blessing them. It was with the greatest pain that they bade their friend good-by. Thirty of them went with him to Quebec, which he reached on the 15th of June, in

perfect health, notwithstanding the fears of his brethren, who knew not what to think of his delay.

So ended the first mission, and I do not know that I can give a better portrait of the character of the central figure in it than by using the language of his converts, as preserved in the "Relation" of 1647.

It must be, they said, that the God our Father tells us of is very powerful; it must be that he is great, and has a great soul, for he has made this man understand and speak our language in two or three months, while the Algonquins, after dwelling a year among us, cannot speak it. This man is not like our sorcerers and medicine men; they always demand something for reward, he never; they spend no time with our sick; he is with them night and day. Our sorcerers make good cheer when they can, the Father fasts often; fifty days has he passed with only a little corn, not wishing to taste flesh; if one gave him anything the least delicate, he carried it at once to our sick. Surely God must sustain him, for we see how fair his complexion is, and that he is not accustomed to our hunting and our long marches; that he leads a quiet stay-at-home life; that he is a considerable man among his own people, and yet he bears and suffers as much and more than we; he is joyous amid the dangers and pains of long journeys and roads of iron. He is always doing something about us, our children, and our sick; he is welcomed by all. The French at Pentagoet have embraced him, and more wonderful still, the English have respected him, and they are not of the same country or the same tongue. All this shows that his God is very powerful and very good.

The Abnakis, who accompanied their patriarch to Quebec, begged piteously that he might be sent back with them, but the request was refused for "just reasons," to use the mysterious language of the "Relation" of 1652. What these reasons were has been made known in the light of recent discoveries. In the first place the Kennebec was on English, not French soil, and in the second place the nearest mission of the church of Rome was at Penobscot, under charge of the Franciscans, as we have seen. There was on the surface a feeling of good will, but it is now known that the father at Penobscot had privately intimated to the Father Superior at Quebec their unwillingness to have any intrusion within their limits. This was the year, too, in which Father Leo of Paris laid the cornerstone of the hospice at Castine, the relics of which have recently been discovered. So the Indians returned to the Kennebec without their

patriarch. The next year they came again, but without success. There was other work for the missionary, and we read of him labor ng under infinite trials, among the Indians on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, in the inhospitable region of Anticosti. But the eager converts were not disheartened, and in the month of August, 1650, they again returned, this time fortified with a letter from the Superior at Pentagoet, who, moved by the entreaties of the Christian Indians, had withdrawn his objections. This letter is preserved, and is in these words: —

> We conjure your reverences by the sacred love of Jesus and of Mary, for the safety of these poor souls who call you from the south, to give them all the assistance you can in your indefatigable and courageous charity. And even if in passing the Kennebec you meet any of our own company, do us the favor of making known to them your wants.

This decided the matter. "It is true," says Father Raguenau, who was now Superior at Quebec, "It is true that the district is not within our jurisdiction, and yet how can we abandon people of such a good disposition, ready for the faith, and left with no teachers but ourselves."

Druilletes was again selected for the mission, and left Quebec on the 1st of September, 1650. This time, however, he appears in a twofold character. The report he had brought from Winslow of the good feeling of the Plymouth gentlemen interested in the Kennebec purchase, together with other overtures from those of Massachusetts, had convinced the authorities at Quebec that it would be well to enter into more friendly relations with their English neighbors. The governor, D'Ailleboust, had been a fellow-passenger with Druilletes in 1643, and evidently knew his man, so it was arranged that the priest should take some time from his missionary labors, and visit Boston and Plymouth as envoy to those governments. Such a passport was necessary to save a Jesuit from the gallows, for in 1647 our worthy ancestors had decreed that punishment to any of the hated order. It was the 1st of September when they left Quebec, and in three weeks they were on the Kennebec, past Norridgewock, the highest Abnaki town on the river, and reached Coussinoc on St. Michael's eve, the twenty-ninth of the month. Of this second mission the "Relations" give but brief notice. The early historians do not allude to it, and even Charlevoix is

unable to give the details. Fortunately, however, Druilettes' own journal has been found, and under the supervision of Dr. Shea, published in the New York Historical Society collection in 1857. From this I derive what follows. On St. Michael's day Winslow received the missionary and his Indian followers. He heard their story, and replied, "I love and respect the patriarch. I will lodge him in my house, and treat him as my own brother, for I well know the good he does among you, and the life he leads."

After nearly two months of missionary work, Winslow took Druilletes with him, and going overland to Merrymeeting bay, took sail for Boston, reaching there on the 8th of December. Mr. Parkman's spirited narrative leaves nothing to be desired in the account of this expedition. I can only allude to the novel character of the picture. A Jesuit priest at the very center of Puritanism, the guest of the magistrates, honored and respected at Boston and Plymouth and Salem, winning even the heart of Eliot, who, full of zeal for his own missionary work, leaned with a noble Christian love upon his fellow-laborer in the Lord.

It was the 8th of February when he reached the Kennebec on his return, and resumed the labors of his interrupted mission. Everywhere, he gratefully says, he had been treated with affection.

On the 13th of April Winslow returned from Plymouth; his news was most assuring. The general feeling at the Old Colony was in favor of an alliance with the Abnakis against the Iroquois. Deputations had been sent to Hartford and New Haven and Manhattan, to urge the same course. Even in Boston, although the Abnakis were not under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, there was a disposition to give all the private assistance possible. The Indian deputations which had been sent to the Saco and Merrimac and Connecticut, returned a few days afterward and brought equally favorable tidings. The whole atmosphere seemed bright with promise of the future. The only dread of the Indians was the possibility of a war with the Iroquois; that seemed now averted. God had smiled upon the labors of his servant, and his narrative glows with enthusiasm at the many noble qualities which he discovered among the new converts. It was with a happy heart then that after ten months of missionary labor he turned toward Quebec to make his report. It is not dif-

ficult to imagine the joy with which he was received by the brethren at Quebec. It was midsummer when he arrived and the long twilight must have seemed all too short for the stories of the marvels which had been wrought. Page after page of the "Relations" is full of them. What wonder, then, that after fifteen days of rest he was permitted to return upon this, his third and last mission. Heretofore the route from the St. Lawrence to the Kennebec seems to have been by the Chaudiere and Dead river, the very route of Arnold; but now for some unexplained reason he made a long detour. His guide was an Etchemin, either from the Penobscot or the St. John, and he lost his way at the outset. The path they took was a valley of death. After fifteen days of fearful exposure they found instead of being near their destination they had barely overcome a third of the distance and had consumed all their supplies. Instead of the Kennebec they were at the St. John, near Madawaska, and it was necessary to follow this river to its head and there crossing the portage descend to the Kennebec. Their sufferings from hunger and exposure and fatigue were incredible, but Druilletes is represented by his Indian companion as having borne it with sublime resignation and fortitude. He was now nearly sixty years of age, and his endurance must have been immense. It was twenty-four days before they reached Norridgewock, where they had been mourned as lost. There was a general fête in his honor. The chief of the tribe ordered a salute of arquebuses and embracing Druilletes, exclaimed: "Now of a truth I know that the Great Spirit who rules in the heavens looks on us with a good eye, for he has sent our father back again." The good news spread far and wide, and from all sides they came to ask him to visit and teach them. His course was a sort of triumphal progress; more than a dozen bourgades or lodges were visited by him on the Kennebec and throughout the English settlements on the coast. Everywhere his noble and gentle manner won their hearts, and he was hailed as a superior being, an angel from heaven. What wonder that his sufferings were forgotten by him, and he could say, "I have had such a deep sense of gratitude that words cannot express it; for I have seen the seed of the Gospel which I planted four years ago in a soil which had borne for centuries nothing but brambles and thorns, now bearing fruit worthy of the table of

God." "If the years have their winter," says Father Raguenau, in the "Relations" of 1652, "they have their springtime also. If these missions have their bitterness, they are not deprived of their joys and consolations."

When Druilletes had made the report of his interview with the New England authorities, a commission was at once issued to Godfrey, of the Council of Quebec, and to Druilletes also, to proceed to the confederated colonies, and urge upon them an alliance with New France, and their co-operation with the Abnakis to resist the Iroquois. It was now time to proceed upon this errand, and so, returning from the visitation of his Indian flock, he makes the voyage to Boston again. But unfortunately the temper of the community seemed to have changed; the commissioners of the colonies were at New Haven, and thither Druilletes and Godfrey journey, but they could produce no impression, and, disappointed and apprehensive, the ambassador returned to his missionary work. All that dreary winter he labored as before, forgetting his diplomatic failure in the fervor of his religious zeal. As spring approached he told his people he must go to Quebec and make his report, and when they entreated him, promised to return once more, but he never came. The journey to the St. Lawrence over the snow and through the wilderness was one of frightful hardship. For ten days the father and his companions were without food. Some of the party, worn out by fatigue, dropped in the snow to die. They made a broth of their shoes and of the father's leathern camisole, and when the snow began to disappear used in the same manner the thongs of their snowshoes. And thus, worn and wasted to a skeleton, battered and bruised in every limb, the devoted missionary dragged himself up the steep hill at Quebec, and the mission of the Assumption saw him no more.

It only remains to make one or two deductions from these facts, which, taken from contemporaneous accounts, I have put into the form of this hastily prepared narrative.

The Abnaki Indians, or at least those on the Kennebec and to the westward, were always considered within the jurisdiction of the English colonies, and at no time within the limits of New France.

No efforts were made by the English to Christianize them.

The labors of the Jesuits were the result (humanly speaking) not of design, but accident. They kept away from the missionary field until the call for help was so loud that it could not be denied or resisted. Their labors had no political significance, but were undertaken in the loftiest spirit of religious devotion.

The Indians desired the alliance with the English, and asked for their protection, but it was refused. What then was to be expected but what actually took place. The terrible consequences of the so-called French and Indian war were the direct result of the folly of our fathers. They thought in their pride to humble the growing colony at the north, but they left their frontiers open to the attacks of a savage and relentless foe.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

February Meeting, 1881.

The first meeting of the Maine Historical Society, after the removal of its library and cabinet from Brunswick, was held at its new rooms in the city building at Portland, February 2, 1881 at 2.30 P.M., Hon. James W. Bradbury of Augusta, the president, in the chair.

All the propositions of the standing committee were approved.

Messrs. Israel Washburn and George F. Talbot of Portland, and R. K. Sewall of Wiscasset, were appointed a committee to report amendments to the by-laws at the next annual meeting.

General John Marshall Brown reported that a lease had been executed, giving the society the use of the rooms assigned it in the city building for ten years.

General Brown, ex-Governor Israel Washburn and Dr. John T. Gilman were appointed to report a resolution of thanks to the city, which was subsequently adopted.

The president was authorized to appoint the various committees

Rufus K. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset, then read a paper on "The Work of the Future Historians of Maine."

In the evening the formal dedication of the new rooms took place. Notwithstanding the extraordinarily cold weather there was quite a large attendance of members of the society and invited guests, including ladies. The city was represented by Mayor Senter and a large number of the City Council. At 7.30 o'clock the guests were called together by President Bradbury, who delivered an address of which the following is the substance:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—In the belief that a removal of the society to this city would enlist a more general co-operation in its objects and extend

its efficiency, it was resolved at a meeting held at Brunswick, November 23, to accept the generous accommodations offered by this city and remove the library to the quarters so liberally fitted up by the resident members. Is not the presence of the honored authorities of this city, and of this goodly number of its intelligent citizens an evidence of a desire and purpose that the fond anticipations of increased usefulness of the society will be fulfilled?

Since our last annual meeting, the last survivor of our original corporate members has deceased. The act of incorporation of February 5, 1822, embraced forty-nine members. Peleg Sprague, the last survivor, died on the 15th of last October. Six years ago, at a meeting held in this building, there was another of the original corporators present, the venerable Ether Shepley. When he entered, debate was suspended, and the last survivor of the original forty-nine, resident in the state, the venerable judge, was welcomed, and narrated the reasons that led to the formation of the society—the desire to collect the facts and incidents of the state's settlement and progress. After a grateful acknowledgment of Judge Shepley's presence a congratulatory dispatch was sent to Judge Sprague in Boston.

The speaker then paid a high tribute to both Judge Shepley and Judge Sprague, and continued by saying the original forty-nine corporators were a remarkable body of men on account of their distinguished character, and the great age they attained.

The average age of the whole body at death was seventy-three, five exceeding ninety years and fifteen eighty. They are classed as follows: Law twenty-nine, divinity seven, medicine seven, mercantile four, gentlemen two. Amongst the lawyers we find the names of Judges Bridge, Cony, Dana, Fuller, Parris, Preble, Shepley, Sprague, Smith, Ware and Weston. At the bar, Thomas Bond, Joseph Dane, Enoch Lincoln, John Holmes, Stephen Longfellow, Reuel Williams, and William D. Williamson, the historian. The clergymen included Payson, Nichols and Tappan; the physicians, Isaac Lincoln, Ariel Mann and Benjamin Vaughan. Dr. Vaughan was formerly a member of the British Parliament, residing in London, and his wife was a daughter of Manning, the banker. He was an intimate friend of Franklin, who was for a time in London, prior to our Revolutionary war, almost an inmate of his family. During the excitement against Republicans in England in 1794, in consequence of the atrocities of the French Revolutionists, Dr. Vaughan hastily left England, and soon afterward came to this country and settled in Hallowell, where he lived for many years, a most useful and honored citizen, full of charity and good works. The merchants included General King, our first Governor, and General Wingate. Hon. Robert H. Gardiner and John Merrick were the gentlemen. Such were the men that composed our society in the beginning. And it is ap-

parent from their character, that neither intellectual labor nor active business pursuits, nor the climate of Maine, are adverse to longevity.

We have a state deserving a place in history, when we consider its discovery and early settlement and the thrilling events connected with it, its extensive territory and frontier position, its educational and moral culture and the character of its inhabitants. Its rigorous climate and sterile soil compel the exercise of industry, economy and perseverance. Trained by the practice of these virtues, the people it produces are characterized by self-reliance and enterprise, eminently fitting them to colonize and build up new states. They are consequently found in large numbers in nearly all the new states in the West. Wherever they are, Maine is honorably represented. We cannot vie with the West and South in the production of the great staples, but we can add to the wealth of the nation, intelligent, industrious and virtuous young men and women. While we regret their loss we can claim ours is as valuable a product as any state can boast, and that Maine is not wanting in her contribution to the wealth of the world.

What is the main object of our Society? It is to collect and preserve, as far as we are able, everything which will tend to explain and illustrate any department of civil, ecclesiastical and national history, especially that of Maine from its earliest discovery and settlement. It seeks these materials in early records, public offices, pamphlets and documents often found in private families, about to be thrown away as worthless, or exposed to the corroding effects of time. Ours is historic ground. In Maine occurred some of the conflicts between England and France for the possession of the best part of the American continent; conflicts the most momentous of modern times in their results and influence upon the history of the world. For a time the French were in the advance. They possessed Montreal, Quebec, Louisburg, Port Royal and Castine, striving to extend their foothold on the Atlantic coast. For a century and a half this contest continued until the fall of Quebec in 1759, when Wolfe gave, with his life, the great prize to the Anglo-Saxon race. The frontier settlements in Maine were a barrier to the advance of the French, and materially aided the Massachusetts colonists in their long conflict. If the French had triumphed instead of the English, and the Atlantic slope had been settled by the Latin race with a different religious faith and different ideas of liberty and civil government, what would have been the present condition of what is known as the United States? What their religion, enterprise, prosperity and influence on the world? Anglo-Saxon colonization has given us the amplest liberty and protection to all, and the political principles it planted here, will, we trust, effectually guard us against usurpation and the abuse of power by rulers through the efficient checks of a written constitution. Our feeble colonies have become a great nation of fifty millions of people. It is moving forward to the position of the foremost nation of the world, challenging admiration for its wonderful progress in wealth, extent, intelligence and prosperity.

Our society furnishes the elements of history. In collecting these elements it needs the efforts of all its members. It needs the hearty co-operation of our fellow-citizens, of all who love the good name of their country. They can furnish material that would otherwise be lost. And how intensely we should be stimulated in our efforts by the recollection of the many nations that have disappeared from the earth, leaving scarcely a remnant of their history behind them to inform posterity of their existence!

The address, which was extempore, closed with a compliment to the city authorities for the interest they evinced by their presence, to a community evidently so alive to the importance of this society, and an appeal to all that the fond hopes of the society should be realized in the home of Willis, the historian, where his spirit still survives.

At the close of President Bradbury's address Hon. Israel Washburn, chairman of the committee of arrangements, made a brief but able speech, in the course of which he explained how it came about that the Maine Historical Society had returned to the home of its birth.

General J. M. Brown then tendered the thanks of the society to the city for the rooms, a lease of which for ten years free of charge had been signed that afternoon.

Mayor Senter responded in behalf of the city in appropriate and pleasing language.

Hon. William Goold, the well-known historian, then read an interesting history of the lot on which City Hall now stands, and of the buildings which had previously stood thereon.

At the close of Mr. Goold's historical essay, brief addresses were made by Hon. G. F. Talbot, Dr. William Wood, president of the Natural History Society, General S. J. Anderson, president of the Board of Trade, and Hon. Joseph Williamson of Belfast.

May Meeting, 1881.

The Society met at their rooms in the City Building, Portland, May 25, 1881, at 2.30 P.M., the president in the chair.

Mr. H. W. Bryant, the assistant librarian, read a report of the accessions to the library and cabinet received since January last.

Mr. Rufus K. Sewall of Wiscasset, as chairman of the field-

day committees for the past two years, made a verbal report of sundry investigations at Monhegan, Damariscove and Castine. Photographs of these localities were presented by him to the Society. Mr. Sewall also presented on the part of Joseph Stevens a collection of silver coins in a frame which were found at Castine in 1841 by his father, the late Joseph L. Stevens, M.D. The thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Stevens for his generous gift.

Messrs. Israel Washburn, jr., Rufus K. Sewall and Hubbard W. Bryant, were appointed a committee on the selection of a design for a seal for the use of the Society.

Mr. George F. Talbot then read a paper on General John Chandler of Monmouth, Maine.

Annual Meeting, 1881.

The annual meeting was held at Adams Hall, Brunswick, July 15, 1881, the president, Hon. James W. Bradbury, in the chair.

The records of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The annual reports of the librarian, cabinet keeper, recording secretary, corresponding secretary and treasurer, were read and accepted.

The standing committee made their annual report, and Hon. Israel Washburn, jr., of Portland, reported a list of amendments to the by-laws. Hon. Marshall Cram of Brunswick, treasurer, and Rev. Alpheus S. Packard, librarian and recording secretary, declined re-election, and each received a special vote of thanks for past services.

On recommendation of the standing committee the following were elected resident members: John F. Anderson of Portland, Francis G. Butler of Farmington, Edward H. Davcis of Portland, Edward W. Hall of Waterville, Jacob B. Ham of Lewiston, Winfield S. Hill of Augusta, Horatio Hight of Scarborough, George T. Little of Auburn, William L. Putnam of Portland, Albion W. Small of Waterville, William Wood of Portland.

The following were elected corresponding members: Charles E. Banks of San Francisco, Augustus W. Corliss of Fort Halleck,

Nevada, Joseph J. Howard of London, Charles Rogers of London, T. J. Nichols of Bristol, England.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: —

President, James Ware Bradbury of Augusta.

Vice-president, William Griswold Barrows of Brunswick.

Treasurer, Lewis Pierce of Portland.

Corresponding secretary, William Goold of Windham.

Recording secretary, librarian and cabinet keeper,
Hubbard Winslow Bryant of Portland.

Standing committee, Israel Washburn, jr., of Portland.
Rufus King Sewall of Wiscasset.
William Berry Lapham of Augusta.
William Goold of Windham.
Edward Henry Elwell of Deering.
Joseph Williamson of Belfast.
Stephen Jewett Young of Brunswick.

The amendments to the by-laws reported upon by Mr. Washburn were taken up, and by vote were laid over as unfinished business, to be transacted at the next annual meeting.

VOTE AUTHORIZING THIS PUBLICATION.

The reason for this new departure from previous methods of issuing its publications is fully explained by the vote passed at the annual meeting of the Maine Historical Society held at Brunswick, Tuesday, June 25, 1889, 9 A.M., in the Cleaveland Lecture-room, Massachusetts Hall, upon the following report, by a committee appointed at a previous meeting, accepting the report, and approving and adopting the method of publication therein recommended.

The undersigned, a committee of the Maine Historical Society appointed to consider the propriety of making some changes in the method of publishing the proceedings and collections of the Society, ask leave to report the following recommendations: —

That hereafter the proceedings and collections of the Society be published together, in quarterly parts, in the months of January, April, July and October.

That each part contain seven sixteen-page forms, or one hundred and twelve pages of reading matter.

That the paper cover of each quarterly part shall bear the title "Transactions and Collections of the Maine Historical Society," the month being added, and the words "Quarterly Part."

That the price be fixed for each subscriber, at three dollars per year, in advance.

That each member of the Society be required to become a subscriber.

That an editor, and a publishing committee consisting of three members, be annually appointed to serve for one year, without compensation.

That the entire proceeds of the publication shall belong to the funds of the Association; shall be collected by the secretary, and be paid by him to the treasurer.

That each quarterly part shall contain an abstract of the proceedings of the preceding meeting, provided one has been held since the publication of the last preceding part, but if not, of some meeting whose proceedings have not already been published.

That each part shall contain such papers as may be selected from the archives of the Society by the editor, assisted by the publishing committee.

That brief book notices, queries and answers, and brief abstracts of the doings of kindred societies, may appear in each part, but no paper which shall occupy more than an octavo page shall be inserted, until the same shall have been read before and accepted by the Society.

That the secretary shall include in his annual report the financial standing of the periodical herein provided for.

That respectable advertisements may be inserted at reasonable rates, but the space they occupy shall be additional to the one hundred and twelve pages heretofore provided for.

WM. B. LAPHAM,
JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, } *Committee.*
HENRY L. CHAPMAN,

To carry out the provisions of the foregoing report, which the Society has sanctioned, George F. Talbot of Portland was appointed, by the executive committee, editor of the quarterly publication, with William M. Sargent of Portland as assistant editor; and Dr. William B. Lapham, Professor Henry L. Chapman and Mr. Sargent were constituted the publishing committee.

We issue on this beginning of the new year the first number of the Historical Quarterly, and expect to follow it by others in regular quarterly succession.

There had accumulated among the archives of the Society quite a number of valuable papers, which its limited means have not allowed to be published. From these we have selected such as will be of most general interest, and afford a pleasing variety of biography and general history, without following the order in which they were read at the meetings of the Society.

It was necessary to assume some date at which to begin the publication of the Society's Proceedings, and we have selected as the initial point the first meeting in the city of Portland, after the removal of the library to that place, with an abstract of the historical address of the late president, Hon. James W. Bradbury, and a report of the proceedings attending its delivery. When the important proceedings of the intervening meetings have been recorded in our volumes, each quarterly number of this publication will contain only minutes of such meetings as may have been held since the preceding quarterly number; and more space will be available for book notices, queries and answers, historical memoranda, and abstracts of the doings of kindred societies.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JAN. 1, 1890.

ALLEN, CHARLES FREDERIC,	Kent's Hill.
APPLETON, JOHN,	Bangor.
BAILEY, SAMUEL DONNELL,	Bath.
BANKS, CHARLES EDWARD,	Portland.
BARKER, LEWIS,	Bangor.
BARROWS, GEORGE BRADLEY,	Fryeburg.
BAXTER, JAMES PHINNEY,	Portland.
BERRY, STEPHEN,	Portland.
BOARDMAN, SAMUEL LANE,	Augusta.
BOURNE, EDWARD EMERSON,	Kennebunk.
BRADBURY, JAMES WARE,	Augusta.
BRIGGS, HERBERT GERRY,	Portland.
BROWN, JOHN MARSHALL,	Portland.
BROWN, PHILIP HENRY,	Portland.
BRYANT, HUBBARD WINSLOW,	Portland.
BURBANK, HORACE HARMON,	Saco.
BURNHAM, EDWARD PAYSON,	Saco.
BURRAGE, HENRY SWEETSER,	Portland.
BUTLER, FRANCIS GOULD,	Farmington.
CHAMBERLAIN, JOSHUA LAWRENCE,	Brunswick.
CHAPMAN, HENRY LELAND,	Brunswick.
CHASE, ALDEN FITZROY,	Bucksport.
CILLEY, JONATHAN PRINCE,	Rockland.
CONANT, FREDERIC ODELL,	Portland.
CONNOR, SELDEN,	Portland.
CROSBY, JOSIAH,	Dexter.
CROSBY, JOHN LELAND,	Bangor.
COCHRANE, HENRY HAYMAN,	Monmouth.
DALTON, ASA,	Portland.
DAVEIS, EDWARD HENRY,	Portland.
DEABORN, JEREMIAH WADLEIGH,	Parsonsfield.
DEERING, HENRY,	Portland.
DIKE, SAMUEL FULLER,	Bath.
DOUGLASS, JOSHUA LUFKIN,	Bath.
DREW, FRANKLIN MELLEN,	Lewiston.
DRUMMOND, JOSIAH HAYDEN,	Portland.

Duren, Elnathan Freeman,	Bangor.
Elder, Janus Granville,	Lewiston.
Elwell, Edward Henry,	Deering.
Emerson, Luther Dorr,	Oakland.
Emery, Lucilius Alonzo,	Ellsworth.
Emery, George Freeman,	Portland.
Fernald, Merritt Caldwell,	Orono.
Fiske, John Orr,	Bath.
Gilman Charles Jarvis,	Brunswick.
Goodenow, Henry Clay,	Bangor.
Goold, William,	Windham.
Hall, Edward Winslow,	Waterville.
Haskell, Thomas Hawes,	Portland.
Hathaway, Joshua Warren,	Norridgewock.
Hight, Horatio,	Portland.
Hill, John Fremont,	Augusta.
Hill, Winfield Scott,	Augusta.
Humphrey, Samuel Fisher,	Bangor.
Holway, Oscar,	Augusta.
Hyde, William DeWitt,	Brunswick.
Ingalls, Henry,	Wiscasset.
Jackson, George Edwin Bartol,	Portland.
Johnson, Edward,	Belfast.
King, Marquis Fayette,	Portland.
Lapham, William Berry,	Augusta.
Lee, Leslie Alexander,	Brunswick.
Levensaler, Henry Coombs,	Thomaston.
Little, George Thomas,	Brunswick.
Libby, Charles Freeman,	Portland.
Libby, Charles Thornton,	Portland.
Locke, John Staples,	Saco.
Longfellow, Alexander Wadsworth,	Portland.
Manning, Prentice Cheney,	Portland.
Morrell, Hiram Kelley,	Gardiner.
Moses, Galen Clapp,	Bath.
Nash, Charles Elventon,	Augusta.
Nealley, Edward Bowdoin,	Bangor.
Neely, Henry Adams,	Portland.
Paine, Albert Ware,	Bangor.

PERHAM, SIDNEY,	Paris Hill.
PETERS, JOHN ANDREW,	Bangor.
PHELPS, ALBERT IRVING,	Damariscotta.
PHILBROOK, LUTHER GROVES,	Castine.
PIERCE, LEWIS,	Portland.
PORTER, JOSEPH WHITCOMB,	Bangor.
PUTNAM, WILLIAM LEBARON,	Portland.
REED, THOMAS BRACKETT,	Portland.
REED, PARKER MCCOBB,	Bath.
ROBERTS, CHARLES WENTWORTH,	Bangor.
SAFFORD, MOSES ATWOOD,	Kittery.
SARGENT, WILLIAM MITCHELL,	Portland.
SEWALL, FREDERIC DUMMER,	Bath.
SEWALL, JOHN SMITH,	Bangor.
SEWALL, RUFUS KING,	Wiscasset.
SIMONTON, THADDEUS ROBERTS,	Camden.
SMALL, ALBION WOODBURY,	Waterville.
SMITH, WILLIAM ROBINSON,	Augusta.
SMITH, CHARLES HENRY,	Brunswick,
SMITH, WILLIAM HENRY,	Portland.
SPRAGUE, JOHN FRANCIS,	Monson.
STEWART, DAVID DINSMORE.	St. Albans.
SYMONDS, JOSEPH WHITE,	Portland.
TALBOT, GEORGE FOSTER,	Portland.
TENNEY, ALBERT GORHAM,	Brunswick.
THAYER, HENRY OTIS,	Limington.
THOMAS, WILLIAM WIDGERY, JR.,	Portland.
THURSTON, BROWN,	Portland.
TORSEY, HENRY PIERSON,	Readfield.
WATERMAN, JOHN ANDERSON,	Gorham.
WILSON, FRANKLIN AUGUSTUS,	Bangor.
WHEELER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS,	Castine.
WILLIAMS, JOSEPH HARTWELL,	Augusta.
WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH,	Belfast.
WITHERLE, WILLIAM HOWE,	Castine.
WOOD, WILLIAM,	Portland.
WOODS, NOAH,	Bangor.
YOUNG, STEPHEN JEWETT,	Brunswick.

HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

A BRANCH OF THE SMITH FAMILY.

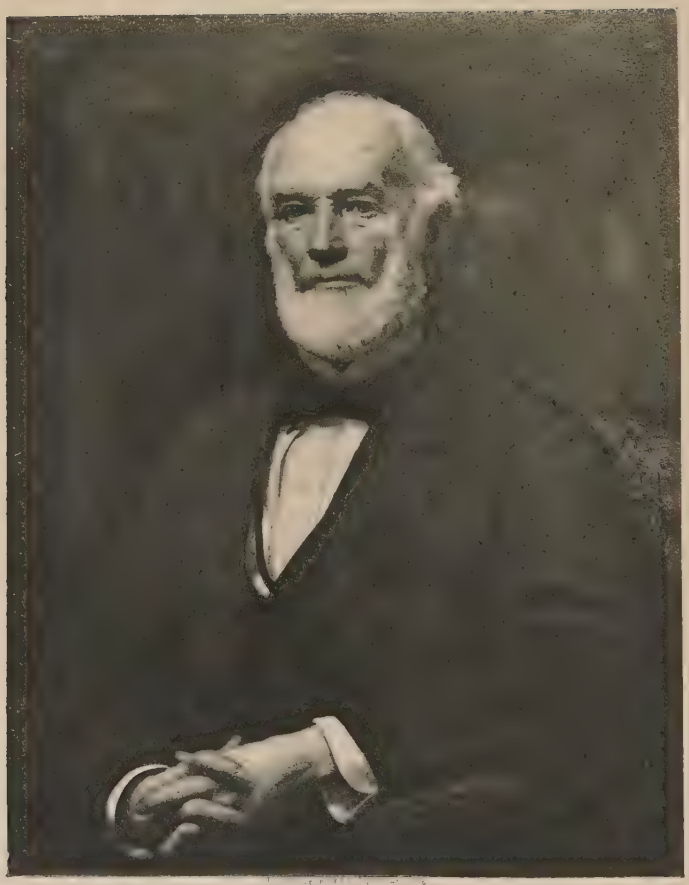
THOMAS WESTBROOK SMITH, a prominent and successful merchant in Augusta, Maine, who died in 1855, was born at Dover, New Hampshire, February 22, 1785. He went to Augusta in 1805, and five years later, married Abigail Page. For an account of his family, see North's Augusta. A letter to Mr. Smith, found among his papers, gives some account of the branch of the numerous Smith family to which he belonged. It is dated at Durham, New Hampshire, July 13, 1843, and was written by Seth S. Walker, whose wife was a Smith. Durham once formed a part of ancient Dover.

"The extraction and condition of the Smiths of Durham before they left England, is in oblivion; no piece of antiquity remains which belonged to them except a cutlass, which is now in my possession; that, together with a coat of mail, has been preserved in the family from their ancestors down to about fifty years ago, when the coat of mail was lost. The family is supposed to have come from Plymouth, England. Several sons came over with their mother, who being a widow was here married to another husband. They arrived at Boston when only a few huts were erected there, and from thence removed to Oyster River, which was then an infant plantation. The mother came with them, and her second husband having died, she married a man named Nason. One of the sons, John Smith, left Oyster River and went to Little Compton. The second brother, James, settled at Oyster River, bought one hundred acres of land and kept a tavern. He married a Davis and had four sons, Joseph, John, James and Samuel, and daughters Mary, Sarah, and several others. James and Samuel were killed by the Indians. Joseph died at sea. John married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. John Buss, and had issue, John, James, Joseph, Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary and Hannah. Rev. John Bass married a daughter of Captain Thomas Bradbury of Salisbury, and died in 1736, aged one hundred and eight years. He was buried in the town burying lot, near where the meeting-house stood. James Smith (son of John and Elizabeth Buss) married Mary Trickey, and lived in Rochester. John Smith, brother of the last James, born December 24, 1736, married first, Deborah Chesley, a sister of the wife of Rev. John Adams, and had James (your father), and Thomas, who was burned to death. He married second, Sarah, daughter of Rev. William Parsons of Hampton, and had Deborah, William Parsons and Sarah. John Smith (grandfather of Thomas W. Smith of Augusta) was a prominent man in Durham. He was for ten years representative from Durham, and during the war of the Revolution, a member of the committee of safety. The Smiths occupied a log house and garrison at Oyster River until the third John Smith (your grandfather) built the house where I recently resided."

James Smith, father of Thomas W., married a daughter of Thomas Westbrook Waldron, whose wife was a daughter of Colonel Thomas Westbrook. Eliza Ann, daughter of Thomas Westbrook Smith, was the wife of Hon. James W. Bradbury. Mrs. Bradbury numbered among her ancestors not only the Vaughans, the Waldrons and Westbrooks, but through Elizabeth, wife of Rev. John Buss, she was also a descendant of Captain Thomas Bradbury of Salisbury.

W. B. LAPHAM.

AUGUSTA, December 26, 1889.



Seymour Woodman.

CYRUS WOODMAN.[1]

A Memoir read before the Maine Historical Society, November 21, 1889.

BY GEORGE F. EMERY.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Buxton, Maine, June 2, 1814. His genealogy, traced by his own hand from Edward who settled in Newbury, Mass., in 1635, will be found in his publication entitled "The Woodmans of Buxton, Me.," in the library of the Maine Historical Society, and among the collections of many kindred bodies. His father was Joseph Woodman, a respectable lawyer of Buxton. His mother was Susanna, a daughter of Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D., the first settled minister of that town. He was early placed at Gorham Academy where, and at Saco, he prepared to enter Bowdoin College whence he was graduated in 1836. His attachment to his classmates was unusually strong and never flagged. How well this was illustrated will never be forgotten by all the survivors, nine in number, who at the semi-centennial of their graduation assembled at their old college home at his bidding, and for several days as his guests shared his bounteous hospitality. His scholarship and attainments were more substantial than brilliant; his taste leading him in the line of the solid and practical, in distinction from the

[1] This paper was prefaced by the following report.

The paper about to be read is properly presentable in the form of a report from the committee appointed at our annual meeting in June last composed of the writer and Messrs. E. H. Elwell and Lewis Pierce.

Tributes from the living to the dead involve a grateful, but delicate and somewhat difficult duty. There is always danger, on the one hand, of undue eulogium, sometimes producing a revulsion of feeling among those best acquainted with its subject, and, on the other, of failing to do justice through fear of criticism at the bar of good taste and honest judgment. This has been specially appreciated in preparing a paper suitable to to the memory of Mr. Woodman, whose distaste for notoriety was a marked feature of his character. The aim has been, therefore to present a true picture of the man, but to avoid high coloring that would shock his delicacy were he living. How far this has been accomplished is left to the judgment of others than special friends, whose attention is now respectfully addressed.

In behalf of the committee,

GEORGE F. EMERY, *Chairman.*

shining and theoretical. The theme of his commencement performance, among the first in rank, was "Independence of Character," a trait for which he was eminently distinguished throughout life. In October, 1836, he commenced the study of law in Boston under the tutelage of Samuel Hubbard, next of Hubbard and Watts, and completed his preparatory course at the Harvard Law School.

While a student in Boston his intimacy with John Albion Andrew, an old schoolmate at Gorham, was renewed and increased, and a room in the attic story in Howard street, of what is now called "The Woodbine," they occupied together, their nearest neighbor being Peleg W. Chandler, whose room the latter has described as no room at all, but a mere closet lighted only by a skylight over the entry into which it opened. What these lifelong friends lacked in environment was more than counterbalanced by joke, merriment and song, though as to the last Andrew was chief, and always at the front.

July 9, 1839, Mr. Woodman was admitted to the bar, and opened an office in Boston, being associated for a brief period with George S. Barstow as partner. His remarkable industry, accuracy and versatility had attracted the attention of holders of extensive land-interests in the West, who tendered him the sub-agency thereof, which he accepted, and this occasioned his removal to Winslow, Illinois, where he continued to reside for three years or thereabout, meantime having married Charlotte, a daughter of the late Deacon Ephraim Flint of Baldwin, Maine, who survives him, as do also their children, Mary, Frank, Walter and Edward.

After Mr. Woodman had become fairly established in his new field, and had exhibited his aptness for the business with which he was charged, its entire agency was conferred upon him, and was continued until the company for which he acted was dissolved in the fall of 1843. He soon after changed his residence, and at Mineral Point, Wisconsin, formed a co-partnership with the late Governor C. C. Washburne, which continued for about eleven years. They were located in the focus of an opening mining industry, and in proximity to settling and timber lands, which began to attract public attention, the value of which these gentlemen well appreciated and utilized to pecuniary advantage.

Their attention was consequently soon withdrawn from the ordinary line of the legal profession, and was devoted mainly to securing for themselves and others the best lands open to public entry, and thereby was laid the foundation for the fortunes they afterward achieved. To facilitate their business, after the state law authorizing the establishment of private banks went into effect, they established the Mineral Point Bank, which, from the esteem and confidence in which its conductors were held, at home and abroad, became an important fiscal agency in that day of "wildcat currency," and of an unsettled and uncertain condition of the public finances. Rival interests, however, sought to cripple this private banking-house, and a concerted plan was eagerly prosecuted to drive it into the general condition of suspension of specie payments. But the energy and determination displayed to protect its customers from loss, at all hazards, rendered this attempt abortive, and resulted in adding increased strength and confidence in the bank and its managers. March 1, 1855, the partnership of Washburne & Woodman dissolved, the affairs of their bank were wound up, and every dollar of its liabilities was paid in gold. Hard-earned success had been achieved by both, and the relations of the partners, who differed widely in their constitutional make-up, were characterized throughout by mutual confidence and esteem, as is evidenced by the following extract from the article of dissolution drafted by Mr. Woodman: —

"Whereas we have for upward of ten years been doing business as partners under the name of Washburne & Woodman, during which time our intercourse, interrupted by no untoward circumstances, has been marked by a constant feeling of kindness and goodwill, coupled with an unusual degree of unanimity of sentiment in relation to business transactions," etc., etc.

In this connection the following episode in Mr. Woodman's life can hardly be ignored. Mr. Washburne, after crowning his ambition by the erection at Minneapolis of the best flour mill then in the world, went to Europe for the benefit of his health, which had become impaired by a disease which afterward proved fatal. On his return in November, 1881, he made his headquarters at a hotel in Philadelphia, where he could avail himself of the

best medical skill that could be had. His malady was of such a nature, his family was so conditioned, and his estate so large and peculiarly constituted, that he deemed it suitable to make his will, the general provisions of which had been deliberately determined in his own mind, but had not been reduced to form. After providing liberally for his family and other relatives and friends, he had purposed to leave behind him in Wisconsin, where the foundation of his fortune was laid, and whose citizens had crowned him with the highest honors within their gift, a memorial worthy of him, of them and of all concerned. Under these circumstances he felt the need of a true, tried, but well-informed and disinterested friend to advise with, respecting the proper safeguards to be employed for carrying into effect his public bequests, and of a skillful draftsman to reduce his will in proper terms to writing. His eye most naturally turned toward Mr. Woodman, and for him he sent to visit him in Philadelphia. The summons was complied with, though not without some reluctance from apprehension that the occasion would be a painful one to both. During the visit of several days Mr. Woodman discharged the delicate duty assigned to him in a pious, deliberate and most painstaking manner, and to the great satisfaction of Mr. Washburne in all particulars, except consenting to act as one of his executors. More than two years after the death of Mr. Washburne, there appeared in public print an article containing an allegation that the will was hastily drawn, intimating also that his "amanuensis" had exerted undue influence upon the mind of the testator, and but for sudden death a new one would have been executed for carrying out his real purposes and intent. This touched Mr. Woodman to the quick. His nice sense of honor and devotion to his friend would not permit him to remain silent. Accordingly he prepared and widely circulated a pamphlet addressed to the legatees and devisees of Mr. Washburne, wherein he rehearsed with great minuteness all the facts and circumstances touching the condition of the testator and the discharge of his own labor of love; showing that the will in question was dictated by his friend as "calmly, deliberately, with clear thought and with entire freedom from extraneous influence" as any instrument that was ever drafted. His statement closed with the following tribute, as striking as it is pathetic: "May the same

generous, charitable, and unselfish spirit which graced his life so inflame our own, that we too, like him, may long be remembered for benevolence of heart, for public benefaction, for private charity, for thoughtful care of the living and tender recollection of the dead! 'Large was his bounty, and his soul sincere.' Honored be his memory!"

Returning now to the regular order of events, June 24, 1856, Mr. Woodman with his family left his home at Mineral Point for New York, and on the 6th of July following embarked on a fine sailing vessel, the "Walter Scott," for Europe for purposes of relaxation, but more particularly to enable his children to acquire a knowledge of the French and German languages. They remained abroad about three years, the principal portion of this period being spent in Germany. Having accomplished the objects of his residence abroad, he returned to Wisconsin. In 1861 his townsmen elected him to represent them in the legislature, but his business relations having called him away from the state, he resigned before taking his seat. In 1863 he removed to Cambridge, his chief purpose being to superintend the education of his sons, and to give them the best advantages there and elsewhere to be found. In May, 1869, the principal managers of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad, with whom he was affiliated, urged upon him acceptance of an agency in the interests of the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company in Nebraska, a branch of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy system, with ample powers and representing the directors with the title of vice-president. At first he was reluctant to accept it, but after looking over the field, he did in fact spend a year in superintending the construction of a line terminating at Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska, and in managing the general affairs of the corporation. The duties of the position entailed upon him a service for which he was eminently fitted, but these he gladly laid down after successful consummation of the particular objects of his employment. There were many other corporate enterprises in the directory of which his service was sought, but these in general he declined, his own affairs demanding all the time he was willing to devote to business.

Public life, although he was eminently qualified for many of its duties, had no attractions for him. Party politics he wholly

abjured, though on all public questions he was well informed and entertained decided opinions. He was in theory a democrat of the straightest sect, holding rigidly to a strict construction of the constitution himself, and measuring other men and measures by the same standard. Political honors were urged upon him in Wisconsin, but the manner of his meeting all such proffers is well illustrated by the following incident. In 1854 the democratic congressman of his district, by voting against repeal of the "Missouri Compromise" line; had so offended his party associates that, by an ingenious device, they determined to relegate him to private life. Accordingly, at the convention following the commission of the alleged offence, a platform was first adopted so antagonistic to the views and vote of the incumbent as to preclude his acceptance of another nomination without personal dishonor, and which, as had been anticipated, he refused. Thereupon a committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Woodman and tender him the honor. At the conference between them he informed the committee that his views were in entire accord with those of the offending congressman, and that he could not accept a nomination on the platform adopted. He was then told that if he would accept, he could receive a nomination on his own platform. This proposition also he promptly declined. Another gentleman was then nominated, but he failed of an election, Mr. Washburne his republican competitor having carried the district.

But Mr. Woodman did perform important public service on the board of overseers of Bowdoin College, of which he was long a member. His habit of judging men and things upon their merits without regard to personal considerations, and his readiness and ability to express his own views and convictions when others were inclined to keep silent from motives of delicacy, or fear of giving offence, rendered him eminently useful, and his presence in that body will be greatly missed. His benefactions to the college, the extent of which is not generally known, and which during his life he was careful to conceal from the public eye, were generous in amount, wise in conception, and will continue to flow onward in their benefits to the latest generation.

Though his publications were not designed to perpetuate his own memory, they will hardly fail to do so. First was the

memoir of his maternal grandfather Coffin, found in the fourth volume of the publications of the Maine Historical Society. Then followed the Records of the Church of Christ in Buxton, during the pastorate of the same ancestor. In 1874 was published by and for him the genealogical history of the Woodman family of Buxton before referred to. But his most prominent literary service was in connection with the local and biographical history of Buxton, during the early period of its settlement. In this connection it is due his memory to add that, by some unaccountable oversight, the full credit due him in this department cannot be measured even approximately. The valuable book entitled "Records of the Proprietors of Narraganset Township No. 1", by William F. Goodwin, was largely the fruitage of Mr. Woodman's labors and money, as his correspondence abundantly attests. In its preface credit is given for important services rendered by several gentlemen, though the name of Mr. Woodman, without whose labor and financial aid it never would have been printed, is not even mentioned.[1] But in the "Buxton Centennial" published is 1874, prepared by J. M. Marshall and Mr. Woodman jointly, will be found the elaborate historical address of the latter, delivered at the centennial in 1872, and an appendix from the latter of one hundred and thirty-eight pages of sketches demanding time and pains, as is well said in the preface, "only those who have been engaged in similar work can appreciate." His last publication, issued in 1888, is entitled "A sermon by Rev. Paul Coffin, D.D., August 15, 1762 in Narraganset No. 1, now Buxton, Maine, and an address there delivered August 15, 1886, by Cyrus Woodman." All his labor, research and expenditure in these lines were purely labors of love, which never can be fully appreciated, and were never expected to be requited. One feature of his work stands out in special prominence. That was his accuracy as to facts, and his determination to give the truth so effectually as to foreclose need of further research. His devotion to the truth of history was so strong, that he did not hesitate to give expression to some facts which many would have omitted. For

[1] After the reading of this paper, a friend of both parties made the remark, that at the time of publication Captain Goodwin was too sick to attend to business. The correspondence of Mr. Woodman shows the facts to have been as stated in the text. It is probable that the preface was not written by Captain Goodwin, but was prepared by another, who was not well informed in the premises.

instance, in a brief sketch of his father, he describes him as "quick-tempered, fastidious and irritable, but kind-hearted, generous and hospitable." Another illustration is seen in causing to be published in connection with the memoir the private journal of his grandfather Coffin, without expurgation, note or comment, some of the entries in which bear with some severity both upon classes and individuals. The estimation in which he held Dr. Coffin was pathetic, and approached the worshipful. This is exemplified in his repeated biographical sketches of that distinguished divine, but was specially so when, on the one hundredth anniversary of his settlement at Buxton, at a public Sunday service in the old church edifice before a large congregation Mr. Woodman read, though by request, the first sermon which his honored ancestor preached to the people of his charge, and which was also the occasion of the address previously referred to.

Mr. Woodman was warmly interested in the early history of Wisconsin, and his contributions to the treasures of the historical society of that state have been highly appreciated as in part is evidenced by his long official connection therewith as its first honorary vice-president. Judge Orton of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin in his eulogy of Mr. Washburne pays the following tribute to both these worthy sons of Maine. "Both Washburne and Woodman were among the earliest friends and supporters of this society, and have done much for its success by their encouragement, counsel and contributions."

He was also an active manager in, and liberal benefactor of, the New England Historical and Genealogical Society located in Boston, and the value of his services and gifts thereto have been repeatedly and honorably recognized.

His connection with this society commenced while he resided in Wisconsin as early as 1852 or before, having been elected a corresponding member, and in its success and prosperity he was warmly interested. This was shown by his valuable contributions to its treasures while living, and by the wish he informally expressed to have carried out after his death, and which his descendants have piously executed. The pleasing reminiscence is also recalled, that at our meeting shortly before his death, and the first in our present delightful quarters, we were favored by his presence and congratulations.

Of the extent of Mr. Woodman's munificence, and the various channels through which it continuously flowed, the world will never know. Most of his gifts, the development of

> That best portion of a good man's life,
> His little, nameless, self-unnumbered acts,
> Of kindness and of love

reached their destination, like the dew from heaven, silently, refreshingly, but never reporting themselves, and often without revealing to their recipients the source whence they came. Constantly dispensing favors, he sought none in return, not even recognition of his numerous benefactions. To this general rule, however, there were one or two notable exceptions. His old partner had founded the "Washburne Astronomical Observatory" connected with the University of Wisconsin, but no library fund being provided for its successful operation, Mr. Woodman established a perpetual one, part of the income of which is to be available for current use, and the balance to be added to the principal until it reaches one hundred thousand dollars, after which the whole is to be utilized within the line of the endowment. In this case, his determination being to have his name associated with that of Mr. Washburne, the title of "Woodman's Astronomical Library" was prescribed, and is to be perpetuated, and upon failure or neglect in this particular the fund is to be forfeited.

The uniqueness of his methods is further illustrated by two acts commemorative of his father-in-law, Deacon Flint, for whose memory he cherished profound respect. A few years ago he caused to be erected in Baldwin two stone posts and marked "The Deacon's Road" to distinguish one the good deacon had in early life cut through the woods. Remembering also the spot, at the intersection of the old county road leading to Fryeburg with the newer one leading to Cornish, where was formerly located a trough whence travelers were accustomed to refresh their horses, and which doubtless he had personally utilized at an interesting and tender period of his life, he caused to be there placed a perpetual fountain in the form of a capacious circular receptacle of granite for water supplied from two sources on the elevated ground above, and to be marked indelibly upon it "In Memory of Deacon Ephraim Flint." A gift of this, costing

more than one thousand dollars, was made to the town accompanied by a fund adequate to keep the fountain in good condition, but coupled with a requirement securing its perpetuity. The inhabitants gladly recognized both the gift and the tribute paid to one of the honored fathers of the town, but insisted upon perpetuating at their expense the name of the donor upon the same monument. To this he consented, but requested his name to be inscribed on its rear where it now appears.

Mr. Woodman's mind seems often to have recurred to monuments to others, though oblivious of any for himself. Among his early and valued friends at the West, was Colonel William S., a son of Alexander Hamilton, who in 1850 died in California, but whose grave was unmarked and threatened with desecration. Many years after this, on learning the condition of things, he caused suitable gravestones to be prepared in Boston with proper inscriptions thereon, and to be placed so as to perpetuate the memory of his friend, and protect the sacred spot from molestation.

Some one has truly said, "The world knows nothing of its greatest men." It is not affirmed in behalf of the subject of this sketch that he possessed a genius which dazzles by its effulgence, or that his life was characterized by events to elicit popular applause. To the one he made no pretence, and to the other he paid but little respect. What is claimed is, that his ideal of life was noble, and the measure of its attainment was high and honorable. What that ideal was, he has not left in doubt. In the closing words of his address at the Buxton Centennial, his prayer was that the orator on the next similar occasion "may be able to say of us, as we of those who have gone before, that though our names are forgotten and we sleep in unknown graves, yet that in the humble path allotted us we too served our generation faithfully and well, and that the world was the better for our having lived." They esteemed him most who knew him best. Though not demonstrative in his professions, his regard for his friends, embracing a wide circle, was strong and abiding. His hospitality, though unostentatious, was hearty, largely extended, and generous. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to gather about him a circle of kindred spirits where free play could be given to the spirit evoked by reminiscences of

his youth, and to the discussion of themes which interested him most, though seldom alluding to himself or his own affairs. He was surrounded in his library, his daily workshop when at home, by books of history, biography, and standard literature on all subjects of the choicest kinds, and these were to him an unfailing source of pleasure and profit. But when wearied by the work, which his business and wide correspondence with his friends entailed upon him, or when his spirit was inclined to sadness in seeing the circle of endeared ones narrowing more and more, he would fly away to visit his native state, or to some distant section of the country with every portion of which he became familiar.

The religious element was more strongly and deeply rooted in his nature than from his ordinary conversation an observer would naturally infer. He was a despiser of shams both in politics and religion, and this he was apt to indicate on all suitable occasions without fear or favor. But he respected true statesmanship, and gave credit to it when found in the ranks of any party. He was also a believer in the fundamentals of christianity from the Unitarian standpoint, was an accustomed worshiper, a diligent reader of the Scriptures, very fond of sacred poetry, and though not closely allied with any church, he took care to note in the genealogy of his father's family the date of his own baptism; and while, as he said, not attaching much importance to it, he was not infrequently heard to revert to this consecration of himself by his "blessed mother" with pleasure.

The following extract from the address delivered on the occasion of reading his grandfather's sermon is a fitting close to this paper,—

> Let us, their descendants, see to it, and especially let those whose lines have fallen in these pleasant places see to it, that the altar becomes not desolate, that its fire goes not out, but that in the future as in the past, the divine flame shall be a lamp to the feet and a light to the path of erring man—a shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

His death occurred March 30, 1889, suddenly and without suffering from protracted disease, and his remains were interred in Buxton, in the cemetery adjacent to the old church where repose the ashes of his ancestors, whose memory he signally honored, and of whom he was a most worthy descendant.

In closing this public testimonial, the writer said he could hardly refrain from adding in his individual capacity, that he counted himself fortunate in having enjoyed the intimate friendship of Mr. Woodman for more than fifty years, and though shocked and saddened by the abrupt severance of earthly ties, the pathway now so shaded by recollections of endeared companionship in the past, is illumed by anticipation of a reunion with him, and with other departed worthies,—

Where the faded flower shall freshen,
Freshen never more to fade;
Where the shaded sky shall brighten,
Brighten never more to shade;
Where the sun-blaze never scorches,
Where the star-beams cease to chill,
Where no tempest stirs the echoes
Of the wood, the wave, or hill;
Where the morn shall wake in gladness,
And the noon the joy prolong,
Where the daylight dies in fragrance
'Mid the burst of choral song.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM GORGES, 1636 TO 1637.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 22, 1885.

BY CHARLES EDWARD BANKS.

For fifteen years (1620-35) the Council for New England had guided the political destinies of the colonization of these shores under the wise leadership of Sir Ferdinando Gorges "who hath been," said King Charles, "an imediat mover and a principal Actor to the great prejudice of his Estate." Early in 1635 the Council determined to surrender their great charter to the king. They had been bereaved by the death of prominent members, oppressed with great pecuniary losses in the pursuit of their colonial schemes, assailed before the Privy Council again and again by the rival Virginia companies and other envious persons until, as they say, "These Crosses did draw upon us such a disheartened weakness as there only remained a Carcass in a manner breathless."[1] The king accepted the resignation of their patented rights as tendered by them June 7, 1635, with reservation of all grants and vested privileges. The year before[2] they had mutually agreed upon a division of the territory among themselves, and now they asked his Majesty to confirm these allotments. To Sir Ferdinando Gorges fell the segment between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, to which he gave the name of Province of New Somersetshire. This allotment did not give him power to establish a civil government, and it was still necessary for him to secure a charter from the crown for the sovereignty, as well as the title to the soil of the territory. The death of his intimate associate and co-worker, John Mason, whom he describes as "a man of action" took place November 26, of this same year. This untimely misfortune necessitated renewed activity on the part of Gorges, as he was now the only

[1] Records of the Council for New England, April 18, 1635. [2] Ibid.

one of the patentees who attempted to develop the resources and possibilities of the several divisions of the patent. While pursuing, therefore, the work of acquiring seigniorial privileges in the new province, he provided for the immediate wants of his future subjects by dispatching his nephew Captain William Gorges to the colony, clothed with such authority as he could delegate to an agent at that time.

Captain William Gorges was the second son of Sir Edward Gorges of Charlton Manor by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Sir George Speke, K.B. He was baptized at Wraxall, February 9, 1605-6, and was therefore thirty years old upon his arrival in the province[1]. Sir Edward died when William was nineteen years of age, leaving four sons and four daughters, of whom Thomas, the youngest son, was in orders, and became arch-deacon of Winchester, prebendary of Westminster and doctor of divinity. William chose the profession of arms and became an officer in the garrison with his uncle Sir Ferdinando.[2] He was a favorite nephew "whome I esteme next my owne children"[3] wrote the old knight. From the parapets of the magnificent fortress of Plymouth overlooking the banks of the Tamar, this subaltern was transported to the forest wilds of an almost unknown country, to govern scarce half a thousand people from the loop-holes of a blockhouse on the banks of the Saco. The province from Piscataqua to Kennebec was "no other than a meer Wilderness, here and there by the Sea-side a few scattered plantations, with as few houses."[4] To this fringe of settlements on the coast of Maine, he came in the winter of 1635-36, as I judge, in company, perhaps, with his kinsman Francis Champernowne.[5]

As soon as the distant portions of his new territorial jurisdiction could be informed of his arrival, it is probable that preparations were immediately made to organize a provisional government and hold court, although it is not the earliest recorded instance of a formal judicial tribunal in the limits of the present

[1] New England Gen. Hist. Register, xxix, 112.

[2] Sir Ferdinando Gorges says he "had been my lieutenant in the fort of Plymouth" and in extant letters and documents of that period he is called captain. Trelawny Papers, 98, 99, 105, 139, 390.

[3] Letter, Gorges to Winthrop, August 23, 1637, printed in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. vii.

[4] Underhill, Newes from America, 20.

[5] Champernowne was related by marriage to Sir Ferdinando.

state of Maine.[1] The persons selected as his official advisers by Sir Ferdinando, or perhaps chosen by himself were mostly early settlers and patent proprietors, and generally older than himself. They represented all sections of the province, east and west. Richard Bonython the first named was fifty-six years old[2]; Thomas Purchas was sixty years[3]; Edward Godfrey was fifty-two years[4]; Thomas Lewis was certainly as old as his partner Bonython[5]; while Thomas Cammock and Henry Josselyn were the only gentlemen whose birth was within a half-decade of their new Deputy-governor.[6] The first publiè session of this Commission was holden in Saco, Friday, March 25, 1636, at the house of Captain Richard Bonython at which all the above-named persons were present. The jurisdiction of the court seems to have been co-extensive with the limits of the province and the records of its sessions show that the inhabitants "were influenced by the same litigious spirit and the same passions which characterize a denser population and a more refined state of society."[7] The first four cases brought before this court were a quartette of men "for being drunck," and the august councilors promptly fined the culprits "5s. a piece for being drunck." Mr. William Hooke, a "godly gent," according to Winthrop,[8] son of Alderman Humphrey Hooke of Bristol was fined thirty shillings "for an uprore comitted in shouting of divers peces in the night." At this court George Cleeves and John Bonython began their turbulent public careers as prisoners before the bar, the former for "rash speeches" and the latter for licentiousness.[9] The court records

[1] The existing court records contain the entry of a probate return dated July 15, 1635 showing the existence of such a court of record before the arrival of William Gorges. In 1662, when Ferdinando Gorges resumed control of the province for a brief period his trustees in convention assembled directed their marshal to gather from all previous recorders and clerks all "Rotula, Books, Records, Instruments, Seales and Writings of a publick nature .... since the year of our Lord 1634." [P. R. O. Col. Papers, xvi, 34.] This takes back the probability of an organized government one year more and if we can rely on the genuineness of the "Wheelwright Deed" of 1629, and some of its collateral documents we have the evidence of an official status appertaining to Vines and Josselyn in 1633. [N. H. Provincial Papers, i, 83-86.]

[2] The Bonython family of Maine, by the writer of this article.

[3] History Brunswick and Topsham, 788.

[4] Edward Godfrey, his Life and Letters; by the writer of this article.

[5] Folsom, Saco and Biddeford.

[6] Their ages are not definitely known however, but this statement is based upon many collateral circumstances too numerous to cite.

[7] Willis, Portland, 68. [8] Winthrop, Journal, ii, 125.

[9] MSS. court records, deposited at Alfred, Me.

of Maine in subsequent sessions were generally enlivened by the appearance of one or the other of these two unquiet persons as litigants or prisoners. During the nineteen recorded sittings of the Commissioners' Court[1] nearly sixty cases came up for adjudication, ten criminal and forty-four civil, a large moiety of the latter being "for debt" and the remainder "slander." At the first session the ancient and important office of constable was transplanted to our shores[2] when Mr. William Smith was "sworn as constable for his Maties servus for the weale publique from Cape Elizabeth to the furthermost parte of this province eastward."[3] The court also provided for the erection of a pair of stocks for the punishment of offenders, and it appears that Richard Hitchcock of Saco had the honor of inaugurating them in April, 1637, as the first occupant.[4]

The traffic in liquor also received attention at the third session of the court and the following order was passed, the first statute in the temperance annals of Maine: —

"It is ordered iff any man that doth sell strong liquor, or wyne, shall suffer his neighbor laborer or servant to continue drinking in ther house except men invited or laborers upon the working day of one hour att diner, or strangers or lodgers there, that the offender should forfeit 10 shillings for every offense and the persons so drinking three shillings four pence each."[5]

The Indians came up for a share of legislation and the following statute was passed because of the losses of live-stock, to which the settlers had been subjected in the past: "Every planter or Inhabitant shall doe his best Indevor to apprehend, execut or kill any indian y^t^ hath binne knowne to murder any English, kill ther cattle or any waie spoile ther goods doe them violence and will not make satisfaction." This was a direct stamp of approval on the modern "lynch law." But this spirit of fair dealing with the natives, received a confirmation in the order passed the next year, that John Cousens of Westcustago (North Yarmouth) should "give full satisfaction to an Indian for wrongs don to him" and this honorable attitude toward the Indians bore good fruit. For forty years following this order they lived in amity with the whites, and it was not till King

[1] MSS. court records, deposited at Alfred, Me.

[2] Norman Constables in America, by Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D.

[3] MSS. Court Records. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

Philip's war in 1676, which started in another colony, that the long peace was broken.[1]

No sooner however was young Gorges initiated in his new work than he incurred the enmity of Master George Cleeves of Casco, whom Governor Edward Winslow of Plymouth called the "arrantest knave that ever trod on New English shores."[2] To those who have had occasion to examine the biographical details of this notorious person, this opinion of the great Puritan magistrate will not seem underserved. He went to England in the latter part of 1636, bearing scandalous tales to Sir Ferdinando Gorges concerning his favorite nephew and the assistants who made up his commission. "By his misreports to mee of theire miscarriage in their places," said Sir Ferdinando, "hee intruded himselfe into my good opinion,"[3] and the wily schemer, to whom Parson Jenner of Saco rightly gave credit for having "subtill head,[4]" having gained his foothold with the unsuspecting old knight, did not leave him until he had succeeded in poisoning the mind of Sir Ferdinando against his nephew and his dismissal was thereupon determined. It might have saved Sir Ferdinando much pain and Captain William this mortification, if the former could have met Mr. Matthew Craddock at the Exchange in London early in 1637, and learned from him some facts about Cleeves, who had made a proposition to Craddock so questionable in its character that he "disavowed for having aught to doe therein."[5] Meantime while the young captain was attending to his duties in court across the Atlantic the scandal-monger was prospering and had secured from Sir Ferdinando, January 27, 1637, a patent of one thousand five hundred acres, the present site of Portland, and a joint commission with John Winthrop to manage his affairs in New England. Cleeves triumphant sailed immediately for Maine, and reached his home about the first of June of that year, where having first got possession of his land

[1] MSS. Court Records.

[2] Letter, Winslow to Winthrop, September 11, 1643, printed in Mr. J. P. Baxter' "George Cleeve" (Gorges Society) p. 124. Mr. Baxter's argument that this characterization, which was jointly applied to Cleeves and Morton of Merry-Mount, "should not be allowed to prejudice us against Cleeve" and that it was probably intended to hit Morton rather than Cleeves is an ingenious bit of special pleading (Ibid. p. 125).

Letter, Gorges to Winthrop, see note 3. p. 126.

[4] Letter, Jenner to Winthrop, April 6, 1646.

[5] Letter, Craddock to Winthrop, March 15, 1636.

(June 8), hurried off to Boston to enlist the support of Governor Winthrop in his behalf.[1] But the Governor, who had but just received a letter from Craddock relating the dealings he had had with Cleeves, and the suspicions he had of his sincerity, was doubtless glad to avail himself of a technical flaw in the authority conferred on himself and Cleeves. Winthrop says that the proposed joint commission "was observed as a matter of no good discretion, but passed in silence."[2] Cleeves however was not a person to be deterred by such trifles, and with this documentary authority from Gorges in his possession he proceeded to exercise the functions of chief magistrate.[3]

Captain William Gorges was recalled home in disgrace and a "generall discharge" of all the commissioners, including his faithful servant Richard Vines, was made by Sir Ferdinando. Thus closed the short and unhappy administration of young Captain Gorges, who held his first council March 25, 1636, and before midsummer of 1637, was cashiered as a sacrifice to the malicious slanders of an ambitious and unscrupulous politician.[4]

The victory of Cleeves was but ephemeral, and he soon fell in the good opinion of Sir Ferdinando never to rise again while the good nobleman lived. Nevertheless he made the most of his temporary elevation to power. John Winter writing to Trelawny July 8, 1637, on business of the plantation at Richmond island says in speaking of current public affairs, "Syr Ferdinando Georg hath made Cleeves governor of his province as he reports, now he thinkes to wind all men to his will,"[5] and Cleeves openly boasted to Winter of his influence with Sir Ferdinando. As soon as Captain William Gorges arrived home, probably in the middle of August, he must have convinced his uncle of the utter falsity of the representations of Cleeves about himself and associates. Vines and others had already protested in "severall letters" against the injustice of the dismissal of the late deputy governor, and when the young nephew presented his case in person, the deposition of the exalted adventurer was

[1] Winthrop, Journal, i, 276.

[2] Ibid.

[3] George Cleeve and his Times, p. 70.

[4] He was not here probably on June 30, 1637, when Vines as joint attorney with Gorges for the council for New England, gave possession of certain land to John Winter the factor of Trelawny, and the inference is good that he had gone home prior to that date. (Trelawny Papers, 105.)

[5] Trelawny Papers, 111.

soon resolved upon. "I am offended with myselfe," said Gorges "for being over credulous of another; neither needes it seeme strange it should bee soe, consideracion being had to the sincerity of one and the fraude of others."[1] On the 23d of August, 1637, Sir Ferdinando wrote to Governor Winthrop requesting him to see that Vines and his former officials under the deposed administration should be properly vindicated before the people, and obtain justice against the slanders of Cleeves. Richard Vines was at the same time reappointed deputy governor as he had been before William Gorges held the office, and George Cleeves returned to his plantation at Casco, to nurse his wrath and plot new schemes for political advancement. In a previous paper which I had the honor to present to this Society on the Plough Patent I showed how his "subtill head" developed the startling plan of digging up the dead "Plough" title and making it the means of again disturbing the peace of the province for over four years.[2]

[1] Letter, Gorges to Winthrop, see note 3. p. 126.

[2] Colonel Alexander Rigby. The Plough Patent and the Province of Lygonia, Portland 1885. Private edition of fifty copies printed for distribution, reprinted from the Maine "Recorder."

A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURMISE.

LOCATING THE HOUSES OF GORGES AND GODFREY AT YORK, ME.

[Extract from an "Abstract of Title of Mr. Samuel S. Allen's Farm in York." By Wm. M. Sargent.]

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 20, 1890.

BY WILLIAM M. SARGENT.

THE presence of an ancient foundation within the confines of this title gives rise to speculation as to its builder and purpose. Mr. Marshall has, and Dr. Banks and other writers, following his deductions, have, argued for the location of Governor Edward Godfrey's house, "the first ever built" in York in this vicinity; their location of it somewhere near Godfrey's Pond and Cove being so indefinite as to confound it with the traces of a perhaps earlier occupancy on our tract.

On pages four and five of this "Abstract," it has been shown that the site they call Godfrey's came to Ann Messant-Godfrey by mortgage from Rev. George Burdett; and is the same place conveyed by her daughter, Mrs. Shapleigh, to Raynes (see York Deeds, iv, 20; iii, 116 and 34). This was where she, as Godfrey's widow, took up her abode after the failure of her husband's title to his homestead on the north side of York river. It was called *Mr.* Godfrey's farm only by the old custom and law of coverture, of which Mr. Marshall, from his written deductions, seems to have been totally ignorant — deductions the other writers have adopted without independent research. It was not even invariably thus designated, but quite oftener the other way, *Mrs.* Godfrey's. (See York Deeds, vi, 158 and 169; ix, 11.)

Godfrey's deed to his son precisely locates his residence upon the north side. (York Deeds, i, 4.)

Godfrey's own language shows that he had no original title on the south side — "the south side to Ferdinando Gorges, and only the north side to himself and divers others his associates."

(Banks' Edward Godfrey, page 48, and Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., ix, 344.)

Moreover, whatever title Godfrey had to land on the south side of the river, except by coverture, as above, was to two hundred acres by an alleged deed from Vines, as Gorges' agent; (see York Deeds, i, 4), but allowing this allegation to be true, that transfer was made some years after his asserted date of building the earliest habitation and the land could not have been its site; and his conveyances away of the whole of this tract to Moore, Adams and Donnell without any mention of any buildings is additional proof that he did not locate upon that side of the river. (Pages 82 and 83, Banks' Edward Godfrey, and page 378, vol. ix, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., and York Deeds.)

Besides the above it is only necessary to point out that Dr. Banks' notes on pages eleven[1] and twenty-one[2] of his "Edward Godfrey" are not only inconsistent with each other, but the latter conclusively proves, by the surveyor's return in 1644, that Godfrey's house was between "from above the wolf-trap to Mr. Norton's"—locations well known to be on the north side of the river.

Having thus banished beyond these titular limits the most formidable claimant, and the one who has hitherto had the most supporters, for the honor of selecting this early site, to whom is to be assigned the upraising of a house, that from its remains, was evidently too pretentious and too grand in its proportions for the work of any of the poorer fishermen or earlier settlers? To no less a person than Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, Lord Proprietor of the Province of Maine.

That Gorges had a house — a sort of governmental residence on the south side of the river is beyond all question. In his "Instructions," the second set, dated March 10, 1639 (Court Records, i, 38), he directs "y^t there may be a place appointed for the hearing and determining of causes, I have thought to assigne the same to be as neare as may be in the midst of that parte of the p^rvince wch is most inhabited, and that there be a house built for that purpose at my own charge if it cannot otherwise be setled." By his letter (Sainsbury's Calendar of Colonial Papers, x, 55), he shows that his house had been com-

[1] p. 307, vol. ix, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. [2] Id. p. 318.

pleted during the next year; — "Ashton, 28 Jany 1640, Sir Ferd Gorges to Sec. Windebank — Perceives by letters received from New England that had he not lately [3 Apr., 1639] obtained the grant from the King, he should not have been master of more land than his house stands upon; his title to the rest being disputed by one and the other. Shall speed in his resolution to make good the King's grant, but does not purpose to take shipping before he receives commands."

In the deed to the "Maijor & Cõality of Gorgeana" (York Deeds, iv, 46), "ye sd sir Fardind^o Gorges house" is located with great precision between "Poynt Ingleby" and the harbor mouth on "a Necke of Land [then and now called Gorges' Neck] lijng at the Harbours mouth of Gorgeana aforesd, on the South side of the riuer there."

(Court Records, i, 141, 18 Oct., 1647.) "Robert Nanny shall have an extent upon the house and land of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as two indifferent men shall judge it untill his debt of aleaven pounds starling be payd."

Now, as, in the progress of this "Title," the grants by the town of York, upon Gorges' Neck, have all been accounted for as far west as up to Point Ingleby and to the line of the two hundred acres Godfrey alleged he had from Vines, and as that grant did not include any house, the conclusion is irresistible that Mr. Allen is the present possessor of the site of Gorges' stately house, the first and only feudal manor of Maine.

NOTE BY DR. CHAS. E. BANKS.

Having had an opportunity to examine the evidence presented by Mr. Sargent on the location of the Godfrey house, I think it proper to say that a re-examination of the matter (as published in my monograph, printed in vol. ix, pp. 295–384, of the Society's Collections), has convinced me of the correctnesss of Mr. Sargent's conclusions. I am very glad to admit my error for the sake of historical truth, and his clear and logical presentation of the case leaves but little more for me to say. That little is to explain that the statement placing Godfrey's house on the south side of the river was based upon the unqualified report of the late Hon. N. G. Marshall of York, of whose enthusiastic and open-hearted interest in the local antiquities of the old town so many of us have had knowledge. Being unable to visit the locality, as I was then residing on the Pacific coast, I relied on Mr. Marshall's statement, that by local tradition and legal title the old farm of Godfrey, near Godfrey's Pond and Cove, could be shown with the ruins of the cellar. I am confident that Mr. Marshall would have been the first to admit his error, which under all circumstances was a natural one.

ENOCH LINCOLN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 23, 1882.

BY EDWARD H. ELWELL.

When, after an agitation extending through a period of more than thirty years, the District of Maine, then known as the "three Eastern Counties," separated itself from Massachusetts and set out on an independent career, the question might well have arisen, Has she among her sons, men capable of taking the new ship of state out of port, and safely guiding her over the untried waters of local self-government? For more than a century and a half her people had been in the leading-strings of Massachusetts, and although they had contributed their full share of able men to the councils of the state, it was thought by many a dangerous experiment to intrust to them the entire management of their affairs. Besides, the people were poor and dreaded the expense of a state government. It was estimated that the whole cost of a separate government would be one thousand nine hundred and seventy-two pounds, and this was enough to deter many from favoring the project; yet there were large-souled, patriotic men in those days. In the debate, a citizen of Portland, very zealous in the cause of separation, in order to obviate the objection of increased expense, replied that he would serve as governor two years for nothing.

When the time came governors were not wanting. The new state was especially fortunate in the selection of the three men who filled the executive chair during the first decade of her existence. Two of them were her own native sons, and the third was not surpassed in devotion to her interests by either of the others. The three form a trio of able men, diverse in character and gifts, but one in patriotic purpose.

William King, the man of affairs, active, energetic, distinguished in the legislature of Massachusetts by his efforts in

behalf of religious freedom, an early and ardent advocate of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, presiding over the convention which formed the constitution of the new state—brought to the administration of her affairs a wide experience in practical matters of business as well as of legislation.

Albion K. Parris, the jurist and administrator, without brilliant talents, but a man of great industry, promptness, fidelity, sagacity, and so courteous in manner that he was the most popular man of his day — attested at this hour by the great number of citizens bearing as their front initials the familiar letters A. K. P. — succeeded to the gubernatorial chair at the early age of thirty-three years, and held it for five years — a longer term than that of any other of our chief magistrates.

Enoch Lincoln, the scholar and statesman, had the remarkable fortune to follow Mr. Parris as member of Congress from Oxford, to take his place in the town of Paris when he left it, and to be his successor in the gubernatorial chair — and was of the same age.

It is of the last of these three eminent men that I purpose to speak on this occasion. Mr. Lincoln differed from his predecessors in office in that, while not falling behind them in the management of practical affairs, and in devotion to public interests, he was a man of more scholarly attainments, of wider reading, of finer sensibilities and more comprehensive views of society, possessing in short some sparks of the divine fire of genius. My sketch of his life must necessarily be meager, from the lack of materials at hand. Although brief notices of him have appeared in the publications of the Maine Historical Society and in the cyclopedias, no complete memoir of his life has yet been written. He died more than half a century ago, and those yet remaining who remember him are not many. In this paper my purpose is rather to dwell on his scholarly attainments, and broad and liberal views, than to sketch his public career, and more especially to call attention to the fact that he was a poet, and probably the first to publish in this state a poem of considerable length and of no inconsiderable merit.

Enoch Lincoln came of distinguished lineage. He was one of a family of governors. His father, Levi Lincoln, served in Jefferson's cabinet as attorney general of the United States, was

lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1807 and 1808, and on the decease of Governor Sullivan, in December of the latter year, he discharged the duties of chief magistrate from that time till the following May. Enoch's elder brother, Levi Lincoln, jr. — six years his senior — an eminent lawyer and statesman, was in 1825 selected by both the political parties in Massachusetts as their candidate for governor of the state, and was elected with great unanimity by the people. In 1834, he was elected representative in Congress, serving three terms.

Enoch Lincoln, the subject of this sketch, was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, December 28, 1788. He was the fourth son of Levi Lincoln. Entering the sophomore class of Harvard College in 1806, he subsequently received the degree of Master of Arts from Bowdoin College, studied law with his brother Levi, at Worcester, and was there admitted to the bar in 1811. He began practice in Salem, but soon returned to his native town, where he practiced with considerable reputation, but in 1812 removed to Fryeburg in Maine.

The choice of a remote inland village, on what might be said to be the border of civilization, as the starting-point of his professional career, may at this day seem a little strange. But it is to be remembered that at that period, before the railroad had concentrated nearly all social and professional life in a few great centers, such villages as Fryeburg had a local importance far exceeding that which they possess today. Besides, Fryeburg was comparatively an old and interesting town. It had been incorporated as early as 1777, and had been the scene of one of the most memorable and important combats with the Indians which ever took place in our state. It is not improbable that this fact had some influence with the young lawyer in determining his choice of residence, since he ever took great interest in all that related to the aborigines of our state, and made the study of their customs and languages one of the chief pursuits of his leisure hours. Fryeburg has had the distinction of numbering Daniel Webster among the preceptors of her famous academy; she has given the state many eminent men, among whom may be mentioned the Fessendens and John W. Dana, governor of the state from 1847 to 1850; but it may be accounted not the least among her claims to consideration that it was amid her beautiful

scenery that our poet-governor conceived and executed his poem of "The Village." It is her scenery that is described in this poem, and its pictures of rural life are drawn from the pursuits and occupations of her people.

As a young practitioner, just entering upon his career at the bar, Mr. Lincoln, then in his twenty-fifth year, would not unlikely have much leisure upon his hands. With his studious habits these hours could not be idly spent, and he made the aboriginal inhabitants still remaining in the neighborhood, the subject of his researches. It was his custom to spend some weeks or months in each year rambling in the woods, and holding converse with nature and her simple children. His hatred of oppression led him to sympathize with the Indian in his fallen condition, and he spent much time in collecting all those objects and documents, which might throw light upon the manners, customs, habits and dispositions of the ancient lords of the soil. His study bore testimony to his zeal in this direction, being ornamented with the branching antlers of the moose, the caribou, and the deer, with a map of the Umbagog lakes drawn on birch bark by one of the natives, over which hung a full-length portrait of an Indian chief. While residing at Fryeburg he delivered a poem at the centennial celebration of the fight at Lovewell's pond, and he also made an imitation of a Penobscot song in welcome of the French, whom he always considered to have been the truest friends of the Indians.

But that while thus pursuing his favorite studies, and dallying with the muse of poetry, he did not neglect his professional duties and opportunities, is manifested by the fact that he soon gained a prominent position at the bar, and was thought of as a suitable person to be sent to Congress. It is said that the people of the shire town of Paris, and of the eastern section of the county, promised to send him to Congress, if he would take up his residence in that town. However this may be, he removed to Paris in 1817, and March 16, 1818, was elected to Congress to fill out the unexpired term of the Hon. Albion K. Parris, who had been appointed judge of the United States District Court for the District of Maine.

Paris was at that time a village of local importance, and not without attractions of scenery and society. Yet, although he

extended his professional practice and reputation while living there, it seems not to have had the charm for him which Fryeburg possessed. In a letter written at Paris, May 9, 1819, he says: — "I have long anticipated the pleasure of visiting Fryeburg, to which I remain as much attached, and to some of the inhabitants of which I retain as partial recollections as when I left it for a place which will never be a home to me." Mr. Lincoln some time after removed to Portland, though at what precise date I have not been able to ascertain.

Mr. Lincoln served eight years in Congress, viz., 1818 and 1819, the unexpired term of Mr. Parris; then three full terms, 1819 to 1825, and also 1825 and 1826, when he resigned because of his election as governor of Maine to commence January, 1827. I have not had the opportunity to trace his congressional career, but there can be no doubt that the records of Congress would show that he performed with ability his full share of legislative labors. Certain it is that his congressional career brought him into such prominence in his own state, that in 1826, he was chosen with great unanimity to succeed so popular a governor as Albion K. Parris, and this before he had arrived at the age of thirty-eight years. He was twice re-elected, serving from 1826 until 1829.

As governor of the state, he was distinguished by a zealous devotion to its interests, and the scholarly character of his state papers. His messages were noted for their suggestiveness, point, brevity and good taste. One of his Thanksgiving proclamations was so brief and comprehensive, and was so popular, that it was printed on satin by his admirers for preservation.

During Mr. Lincoln's administration as governor, the question of the northeastern boundary of our state acquired serious and alarming dimensions. He vindicated the rights of the state to the territory in question with great energy and earnestness. He took strong state sovereignty ground, boldly and decidedly denying the right of the national government to cede any portion of the territory of the state without its consent. Had his counsels prevailed, the historian of Maine would have had no such chapter of concessions, submissions and humiliation to record as that written by another governor of Maine — a distinguished member of this society — and printed in the eighth volume of its collections.

Governor Lincoln appointed the Hon. Charles S. Daveis of Portland a commissioner to New Brunswick, on the subject of encroachments by the Provincials on the territory of Maine, and of the arrest and imprisonment of John Baker, a citizen of the state. I have here an autograph letter of Governor Lincoln giving instructions to Mr. Daveis as to the conduct of this commission. Under date of Portland, November 4, 1827, he writes: —

DEAR SIR:—I am so anxious that you shall not leave New Brunswick without presenting to the government of that province the views entertained by this state in regard to the objects of your commission, that I write specially to request you, if no more suitable opportunity shall occur, to exhibit those views at large, in conformity to the facts you may ascertain, and the principles we have settled in our minds in various conferences as to the merits of our cause, in the form of a memorial. This will preclude all future pretense of acquiescence in the foreign occupation or jurisdiction by which, it is feared, that the wrongs which are growing may be expected to ripen into rights.

It will be seen here how careful the governor was to forestall any claim of acquiescence in the pretentions of New Brunswick to jurisdiction over any portion of our soil, and we may also notice the pithiness of the phrase, "it is feared that the wrongs which are growing may be expected to ripen into rights." This mission resulted in an able report by Mr. Daveis in January, 1828, and brought about a change in the practice of the provincial government.

Governor Lincoln gave much attention to the subjects of internal improvement, and of education, pressing them upon the attention of the legislature in communications always filled with appropriate suggestions, and recommendations. Even at that early day a road to Canada was anticipated in an able report made by the Hon. George Evans. It was during Governor Lincoln's administration also, that Capitol Hill in Augusta, was determined on as the future site of the capitol, at a session of the governor and council held at Augusta in June, 1827.

But while thus devoting himself, with a high sense of duty, to the interests of the state, Governor Lincoln looked forward to a period of retirement in which he could indulge in pursuits more congenial to his scholarly tastes. Before completing his last gubernatorial term, he declined being again a candidate, desiring to devote his time to agriculture, to the study of the classics and

the natural sciences, and to literary avocations, especially to the completion of a work on the history, resources and policy of Maine, for which he had collected many materials. He had also in view a work on the language and history of the aboriginal inhabitants of the state, a specimen of which may be found in the first volume of the collections of the Maine Historical Society. In this learned paper Mr. Lincoln points out the beauties of the Indian languages spoken in Maine, showing that they had an unbounded susceptibility of composition, which rendered them copious and expressive. They did not suffer their language to be corrupted or changed, adopting no words from the English or French, but forming words from domestic materials to express objects which they had never seen. Thus they had their Indian names for elephant, lion, and a great diversity of objects, unknown to them, except through the medium of verbal or pictured representation.

But it was not permitted Mr. Lincoln to complete the chosen labors of his leisure hours. During the last year of his term as governor his health began to fail. In the month of July of that year, 1829, he delivered an oration at the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the capitol, at Augusta. In the following October he was again called to Augusta to deliver an address at the establishment of the Cony Female Academy. This was his last public performance. I find in the "Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette" — John Neal's paper — so full and interesting an account of his last hours that I venture to introduce it here: —

"He left Portland with a belief that he should not return. He said so and repeated it, as he stood on the floor of his room preparing to go and playing with a piece of paper, which he had suffered to drop twice without perceiving it. 'I am very weak,' said he, 'my strength is leaving — I do not expect to return.' This was uttered with striking solemnity, and the impression will never depart from the recollection of those who heard it. On his arrival at Augusta, whither he had gone to deliver an address before the children of the Cony Female Academy, he mentioned two or three times that he had come to die there; and when his friends gathered about him, and reminded him of the state of his health, and begged him to forbear, he said, in his mild, firm way, 'It is my duty.' Afterward, he alluded to his

mother, an extraordinary woman who had 'left him' suddenly but a few weeks before; and it was evident from his behavior, even more than by his language, that her sudden death was a heavy blow to him. He was thoroughly possessed with the belief, that as he owed so much to his mother, he owed it to her memory by the last of his public acts to impress the future mothers of our country with a becoming sense of their own value. On the day when he delivered the address, he had been quite unwell before he made the attempt; during the delivery he grew so ill that he was obliged to sit down, and after it was delivered he went straightway to bed—the bed of death. He was not afraid of death, after he knew that death was inevitable; nor was he afraid of it before, properly speaking, though he would have resisted the approach and avoided the presence of unworthy danger, like every rational man, if he had been able to do so. He conversed on the subject hour by hour, and with perfect composure—nay, with a sort of strange, mournful pleasantry; for it so happened that one day, as he and Gen. Cony, the adjutant general of the state, an old and very intimate friend, were sitting together, he remarked that he should have to stay with him; to which the general, who had no idea of his danger, and who saw nothing in the observation but a desire to converse on a favorite though dangerous theme, replied, 'Well, well, governor, we can give you a good tomb here.' The next day, or the day after, finding that he could keep no food upon his stomach, not even a light broth, the governor turned to the general's wife, as she sat near, and said with a smile which never quite abandoned his mouth, 'Well, madam, I believe I shall have to accept your husband's invitation.'

"But one of the most remarkable circumstances that attended his death was this: — During the whole of his delirium, he never uttered an equivocal sentiment nor an improper word. Nay more, he never lost sight of his own personal dignity, nor of what he owed as a man to the presence of a female; for in his fiercest paroxysms, he would suddenly recollect himself so far as to wrestle down with over-mastering power, the spirit that shook him, and apologize in the language of a gentleman for the unhappy 'hallucination,' as he termed it, by which he had been partially subdued.

"On one occasion he insisted on getting up. The general remonstrated with him and urged him to lie down. But he refused; he could not be controlled. 'You may have the physical superiority,' said he, 'but you shall not control my mind.' The general saw it was in vain to argue with him in the usual way. 'Governor,' said he, 'you are a philosopher, and will not contend with what is inevitable.' The poor, delirious man looked at him, smiled faintly, and lay down like a child at the bidding of its mother. And not long before he breathed his last, as an elder son of the general sat watching by him, he took it into his head to get up. The young man argued with him, and putting his hand upon his shoulder, told him he must lie down. 'Must, there is no such word for me. I will not be controlled, sir.' 'But,' continued the other, alarmed at the probable consequences, 'I entreat you, I beg of you to lie down.' 'Oh,' said the governor, 'that is another affair; that is talking rationally;' and he lay down, as quietly as if nothing were the matter, although unquestionably delirious at the time.

"These facts are not mentioned lightly — they help to show the man's character; he would not be dealt with by anybody, nor anything, to the abridgement of his liberty. No outrage affected him in health like that of one person daring to exercise improper dominion over another. And weak though he was — a small man of a slight frame — he would have resisted even to death the oppression of brute force over anybody.

"But the last scene of all was yet more striking. He addressed the troops in eloquent and powerful language, though it was occasionally incoherent; and the last words he spoke were — 'Gentlemen, I call you all to witness that I die in the presence of Franklin;' after which he appeared to forget himself, to sink into a lethargy, and then he revived and added, as if communing with a congress of shadows, 'A sacred and solemn scene.' And with this, the spirit of the sufferer prepared for departure, and his last hour was an hour of untroubled sleep."

Governor Lincoln died Oct. 8, 1829, having nearly completed his forty-first year. He was never married. He was buried with public honors on the grounds fronting the capitol at Augusta, where his remains still repose.

Governor Lincoln was possessed of a gifted and well-endowed

mind, and the genial qualities of a universally benevolent and fervently affectionate heart. A striking characteristic was his hatred of oppression. Though naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, he was aroused to indignation by any injustice or tyranny, no matter how it was protected by law or usage. As has been well said of him, "He was the advocate of as entire freedom of thought and action as human society can endure."

He is spoken of by those who knew him in social life as being very agreeable, dignified and entertaining. He inspired all who became acquainted with him with an exalted opinion of his character. An aged lady who knew him in her youth, gives me a little incident of his life, which illustrates the benevolence of his heart. "Mr. Lincoln was traveling in New Hampshire, and through some of the then remote places, and not feeling quite certain that he was in the right way to the place of his destination, he inquired of a small boy whom he took to be not over six or eight years of age, who was out, ax in hand, chopping one of the logs of a formidable looking pile of wood. 'My little lad,' said he, 'can you tell me if I am on the direct road to the town of ——— where Mr. W. resides?' 'Yes, sir,' and the little fellow answered all the questions promptly and with more than usual self-reliance, for one of his years. Mr. Lincoln thanked him, and said, 'Now will you tell me your name?' 'He looked at me with a penetration that belonged to older years, and said unhesitatingly, "My name is Levi Lincoln Osgood, sir. I was named for one of the governors of Massachusetts." Mr. Lincoln said, while relating the above, 'For a moment I was almost in doubt as to my sense of hearing correctly.' Mr. Lincoln took from his pocket a coined dollar, handed it to the boy, and said, 'Tell your father I shall come this way again, and if he will let me, I will put you in a school, you are such a smart boy. The boy took off his hat, bowed, and thanked me, and,' adds Mr. Lincoln, 'I started on my way, leaving him running to the house to tell his father. I have since put the boy in one of the best schools in New Hampshire, and he bids fair to be an honor to the school.' That boy may be living now."

A marked characteristic of Mr. Lincoln's character was his enthusiastic love of rural nature. This led him, while residing at Fryeburg, to visit the retired haunts of the aborigines, and make

acquaintance with the lingering remnants of the large and powerful tribe that once occupied that beautiful region of country.

It was the charm of this varied scenery that inspired him to the composition of the poem entitled "The Village," which was published in Portland, by Edward Little & Co., in 1816. It is a descriptive and didactic poem of more than two thousand lines, written in the heroic measure, and marked by smoothness of versification and elevation of sentiment. One detects at times an echo of Pope in the structure of the lines, and the influence of the author's classical studies is evident throughout. Though professedly descriptive of rural scenes, the local coloring is not strong, much the larger portion of the poem being devoted to general views of society and mankind at large. It would appear that the poet set out with the purpose of sketching the scenery and the conditions of society around him, but not finding the task congenial, gladly launched out into general discourse on human nature and the various classes of society. He apologizes in his preface for this divergence from his theme, and the diffuseness with which it is pursued, alleging that the vocations of business had prevented his filling out the poem in those proportions which were necessary to complete its plan. His mind naturally expanded to wide views of human nature, as seen in the light of history, rather than confined itself to minute observation of the conditions of life around him. With all his love of nature he went rather to books than to personal observation and experience, for the materials of his verse. This is seen in the copious appendix which takes rather the form of essays than of notes, consisting of three parts, the first of which is devoted to a history of slavery, the second to a learned review of lawyers, the principles of criminal law, and the modes of punishment in different countries, and the third to a dissertation on religious persecution. These essays show the results of wide reading, and the influence of classical studies, the experiences of Greece and Rome being constantly cited.

What is most remarkable about the poem is its advanced sentiments on all humane subjects. As regards slavery, the treatment of the Indians, the education of women, and the ill-treatment of brutes, the poem is far in advance of the views generally held when it was published, seventy-four years ago, and antici-

pates many of the reformatory and humane movements of our day. It is something of a surprise withal to find this young man, notwithstanding his inexperience of the ways of life, dealing so caustically with the faults of the learned professions, and betraying no little knowledge of the crooked courses pursued by many of their members. He has considerable power of satire, and a noble scorn of all that is low, mean, or oppressive of the rights of the poor and humble. He holds up a high standard throughout, and is ever true to the highest convictions of truth and duty.

The poem opens with a description of White Mountain scenery: —

> Range upon range, sublimely pil'd on high,
> Yon lofty mountains prop the incumbent sky.
> Such countless tops ascend, so vast the heap,
> As if, when gushed the deluge from the deep,
> The rushing torrents wrecked the guilty world,
> And all the rocky fragments thither whirl'd.

From the description of nature, the poet passes to consider the happy state of the Pequakets before the invasion of the white man: —

> The nation's boast, in undisturbed repose,
> Pequaket, then thy numerous wigwams rose.
> Thy active hunters, arm'd with bow and spear,
> The stately moose pursued and bounding deer,
> For howling wolves contrived the secret snare,
> Or trapped the sable, or waylaid the bear.

The native traits of the Indians are thus sketched: —

> Rude was the savage, but to friendship true,
> No fickle change his fix'd affections knew:
> In hatred firm, a fierce and fearless foe,
> He owned no umpires but his spear and bow.
> The warwhoop's discord was his soul's delight,
> His eye's first joy the slaughter of the fight.

The savage tortures inflicted on his enemies are described in these strong lines: —

> Sullen and sad the captive victims go,
> To meet the direst ills, the deepest woe,
> The scoffing insults, the triumphant yell,
> Each mode of suffering, and each pain of hell.
> The cruel conqueror dreadful vengeance takes;

Midst torturing fires he binds them to the stakes,
Tears off their flesh, cuts circlets round their joints,
Lights all their frames with slowly burning points,
Plucks out their nails, bruises their feet with stones,
Gashes their bodies, dislocates their bones,
Pinches their naked nerves, and torture plies,
Till, all one wound, each mangled sufferer dies.
Ye, too, my countrymen, such ills have borne,
And, captives, thus by earthly fiends been torn.
At scenes like these must tender Pity weep,
And heartfelt execrations, harsh and deep,
From Indignation's swelling bosom burst.
Chieftains, for these, be all your tribes accurst.

But the poet's sense of justice will not permit him to stop here without presenting the other side of the picture. Immediately he sees, "from the grave beyond the neighboring plain,"

— an angry sachem's rising shade,
In ancient dress and warlike arms arrayed,

and bursting into a lyrical strain, thus gives voice to the red man's complaint and defense: —

Ye spoilers of all that the red man possessed,
Why disturb ye my shade in the peace of the grave?
In the region of spirits why trouble my rest,
And blacken the fame of the great and the brave?

When ye came o'er the big rolling waters afar,
We received you as brothers and gave you our food;
But ye burst on our heads with your thunders of war,
Ye plundered our wigwams and drank of our blood.

Ye robbed from our hunters the wilds of their game,
With our wives and our children ye drove us away.
To our chiefs with the furies of discord ye came,
And incited our tribes on each other to prey.

Ye never with us from the calumet smoked,
Nor the sagamite feast of our friendship partook.
Ye white men, complain not of ills you provoked,
For our laws and our customs we never forsook.

Passing from savage man to nature, the poet next describes "the tall, straight pines," which in his day "appeared on every side," pictures the lumberman going forth to his camp: —

His couch the hemlock twigs, his household ware
A jug and basket filled with simplest fare;

calls on those who "indulge in indolence and ease," to —

> Observe his frugal board, be wise at length,
> And gain, like him, from temperance, health and strength.

Then follows the hardy settler, lifting his ax not against the pines alone, but striking alike unsparingly on all, and clearing the cumbered land: —

> And last the bonfires burn, the boughs consume,
> And spreading flames the hemisphere illume.

Turning from the lordly pine, the poet pays his tribute to the maple, as the queen of the wood: —

> More sacred than the Thunderer's chosen oak,
> Let not the maple feel the woodman's stroke.
> Fair maple! honors purer far are thine
> Than Venus' myrtle yields, or Bacchus' vine;
> Minerva's olive, consecrated tree,
> Deserves not half the homage due to thee;
> The queen of trees, thou proudly tower'st on high,
> Yet wave thy limbs in graceful pliancy.

By a curious association of ideas, the contemplation of the maple leads the poet to consider the sin of slavery: —

> Fair maple! let thy leaves my brow surround,
> And laurel wreaths I trample on the ground.
> The suffering Negro in West Indian isles,
> Sooth'd at thy name, amid his sorrow smiles,
> Hope's cheering rays dispel his gloomy care,
> And tinge with dawning light his deep despair.
> Do not our soil and frosty clime insure
> Sweets as salubrious, exquisite and pure,
> As those which burning suns, or humid air
> With swarming insects filled, and slaves prepare?
> They do! Our blest New England's fruitful soil
> Requires no culture by a servile toil:
> No master's torturing lash offends the ear,
> No slave is now, nor ever shall be, here.

Our poet is now fairly launched on a theme which arouses his hottest indignation. His hatred of oppression blazes forth in every line. He loses sight altogether of the scenery of the Saco, forgets the avowed subject of his verse, and ransacks all history to afford materials for his picture of "man's inhumanity to man." These are mostly accumulated in the appendix, but they appear also in his verse: —

O'er slavery's plagues, ye happy freeman, pause,
And learn to love your country and its laws.
See how oppression, ever since the flood,
Has filled the earth with tears and groans and blood ;
See the poor Negro, happy in his home ;
Observe the man-thieves through his country roam ;
Behold him seized, from wife and children borne,
From country, freedom, friends, forever torn,
Yok'd like the ox, and forced through burning sands,
To seek the distant shore, o'er desert lands,
Then, with some hundred kidnapp'd wretches more,
Stowed in to fill the noisome vessel's store.
Resolved on death, in sullen, fierce despair,
He strives by suicide to end his care ;
But watchful keepers guard from that relief,
And save his hated life for deeper grief,
For other tyrants, other modes of pain,
For trade and traffic, — anything for gain.

The poet then turns to the experience of Greece and Rome, and he utters the following prophetic warning which has been so amply fulfilled in our day : —

Avenging Justice follows after crime,
And sure o'ertakes it in the lapse of time.
Oppressed humanity its chains will spurn,
And meanest slaves upon their tyrants turn.

. . . . . .

Should lawless Rule, aspiring here to reign,
Fair Freedom's holy empire dare profane,
Thus o'er our fields would rush the crimson flood,
And every spot be drenched with tides of blood.

Turning to the appendix, we find him thus pleading the cause of the Negro : — "But they are men, and no plea of private advantage or public policy can justify their enslavement, or palliate the enormities committed in stealing them from their native country, subduing them to obedience, and working them as if they were beasts in human shape. . . . It is idle to talk of legal restraints upon men whose crimes are witnessed only by accomplices or sufferers, of the former of whom the testimony would be evasive through interest and corruption, of the latter, excluded by law. Indeed when you have given power, you will legislate in vain about its exercise, and if you tolerate servitude, you cannot separate from it the horrors of barbarous tyranny."

These are true and forceful words, and when we consider that they were uttered seventy-four years ago, when as yet no voice had been raised against slavery in this land, and to doubt its sacredness was the one unpardonable crime, we are all the more struck with the high sense of justice and hatred of oppression which ever characterized their author.

From the woes of the slave the poet goes on to speak of the cruelty of shooting song birds, and in reference to the cruel forest and game laws of England, he says: —

> — ne'er shall our yeoman's soil
> Be subject to a tyrant's lawless spoil;
> Ne'er shall the pasture and the cultured field,
> Subsistence to the deer be forced to yield;
> And flocks and herds deprived of their support,
> To spread extensive parks for royal sport;
> But the prerogative of each shall be
> That NONE BE PRIVILEGED AND THAT ALL BE FREE.

With these ringing lines the poet gladly turns from the contemplation of nature — which he has not too closely followed — to the consideration of man in his various social aspects. He leaves his little "village" and launches out upon the wide sea of human society, yet still holds to it by the slender thread that "the epitome of all is there." It is very evident, however, that he did not confine his views of human nature to what he saw and learned in "that little village of the plain." He ranges wide o'er all "this scene of man," and draws largely upon history for his examples.

The poet visits his indignation upon those who would deny to woman the higher education, deemed by many in his day beyond her needs or capacities, he being in this true to his habitual condemnation of everything looking like the denial of the rights of any human being: —

> Still would it seem the base, degrading plan
> Of selfish, proud and domineering man,
> By education trifling and confined,
> To check the progress of the female mind.
> "A learned woman! I would spend my life
> As soon with fierce Erinnys for my wife;
> 'Tis ours to cull the sweets which science yields,
> And range alone its vastly varied fields;
> From female weakness, far be such affairs;

Its only province is domestic cares ;
These woman ne'er should seek to soar above,
For lovely woman's made for these and love."
The Christian tyrant's Turkish doctrine this,
Fatal to love, and foe to human bliss ;
For know that Beauty's all-subduing charms,
Secures no conquest without mental arms ;
The fair complexion and the eye's bright glance,
And pleasing form may conquer in advance;
But wit's munitions, discipline of Thought,
With Caution's panoply, by Prudence wrought,
And virtue to withstand seduction's shocks,
Secure and strong as proud Gibraltar's rocks,
Must be combined to form the perfect whole,
And give complete dominion of the soul.

The poet now turns to man and introduces him first in the character of the lawyer: —

First comes the lawyer; 'tis an honored name,
A title glorious on the roll of Fame;
Too dear for wealth, which birth cannot bestow,
Or flattery wreathe around a lordling's brow;
A title from the fane of science borne,
By weary vigils earned, by Wisdom worn,
Of import vast, in which the honors blend
Of Honor's champion, and of Freedom's friend;
Yet Justice fails the sacred name to save
From profanation of the fool and knave,
Who, jackdaws still, the peacock's pomp assume,
And strut in pride with half a pilfered plume.

Having thus honored the profession, the poet plies his lash upon the pettifogger in this pitiless fashion: —

So various the concerns of human kind,
No code can circle their prodigious range,
Apply to all, and follow as they change.
To break them, therefore, and be still secure,
To find out legal ways to grind the poor,
To cheat the honest, and the rogue to aid,
Has grown an odious, pettifogging trade.
Prompt with demurrers, skillful in abatements,
To circumvention trained, and bold in statements,
Each villain's hireling, used by every knave,
Of meanest wretches e'en a meaner slave,
To rob too cowardly, too proud to steal,
The pettifogger preys on public weal,

And makes some justice,—a commissioned fool,—
For paltry aims a secret legal tool,
Or deeper cheats, to gain him larger fees,
Performs by quibbles, sophistry and pleas.

This is severe enough, but there is much more to the same effect. If we are to suppose the satirist painted from real life, the village lawyer of half a century ago was a despicable character indeed. But, as I have said, the poet evidently drew his material from a wide survey of mankind, and his noble scorn of all meanness caused him to paint in strong colors all dereliction from his own high standard. To the honest lawyer he pays due tribute: —

When blessed with soul and gifted with a mind,
(And such there are), we honest lawyers find,
Those whose high office is to guard the laws,
And vindicate from wrong the righteous cause,
We yield the meed of merited applause.

But for the country justice he has no mercy. His portrait probably had many originals in his day: —

'Squire Quirk, the justice, to dispense the laws,
Sits in the pride of power to judge the cause,
Grave as an owl in solemn state presides,
And as sly Varus bids, the cause decides:
Vain all authorities, and justice vain,
Not Dexter's self a single point could gain:
Cold as the snows which freeze around the pole,
No eloquence could warm his frigid soul;
Dark as the shades of Milton's Stygian night,
His mind admits no glimmering ray of light;
Too dull for reasoning, and too proud for shame,
No power can move him from his steadfast aim.

In like manner the poet reviews the clerical and medical professions, mercilessly lashing the quack; dwells on the evils of intemperance, exposes the dangers of party spirit, and anticipating the complaints of the civil-service reformers, thus portrays the arts of the politician; —

Some meanly selfish, a more venal crew,
With naught but power or riches in their view,
While frowning virtue interdicts in vain,
Use basest means the favorite end to gain.
At patriot merit slander's shafts they aim,
With vacant heads and noisy tongues declaim,

Decry the statesman, puff the stupid knave,
Support the traitor, stigmatize the brave,
Call wisdom folly, Honor's self defame,
Discolor truth and everything misname.
And why? Forsooth a rival to disgrace,
To win a salary or to steal a place.

Elections, it would seem, were not more pure in those days than in ours: —

Alas! Caprice, too oft, election rules,
Too oft preferment falls to rogues and fools.
Judge not by honors, learn the thing to scan,
And separate the officer and man.
Creature of form, exterior, and parade,
Too oft the officer by fraud is made;
Some fourteenth cousin, potent in the state,
Formed him his tool, and placed him with the great.

After these specimens Gov. Lincoln's powers as a satirist will not, I think, be denied. His high standards of public as well as private conduct are seen in his portrait of the patriot: —

Aloof, the Patriot eyes the scene below,
With calm contempt or with indignant glow.
His wide philanthropy spreads unconfined,
Beyond a party's bounds to all mankind;
His liberal mind a general system frames,
And in that system knows no private aims,
No views to self, no patronage of friends,
No mean contrivances for paltry ends.
No factious tumults move his steadfast soul,
No lures entice him, and no threats control;
Through changing times, midst all the scenes of state,
As stern as Justice and as fixed as Fate,
He stands sublime and nobly stems the storm
Of Folly's rage and popular alarm,
Till, all his greatness by the world confessed,
Feared by the vicious, by the good caressed,
He meets at last the meed he spurned to claim,
The unsought prize of office and of fame.

The poet now lays down his pen and bids a long farewell to the Muse: —

Reader, farewell! The humble lay is o'er,
The "Village" bard's faint voice you'll hear no more.
With bleeding heart he throws his harp away,
To toil in Law and climb its rugged way.

Accept, thou Muse, his long, his sad adieu.
O, might he still the pleasing task pursue,
He'd strive to reach at last your sacred spring,
And strike with abler hand the tuneful string,
Yield worthier offerings and a temple rear
Which time might reverence and oblivion fear;
And when, by Heaven's irrevocable doom,
His frame should molder in the silent tomb,
His voice might then from Echo's caves resound,
And virtue listen to the grateful sound;
But no! vain dreams! away! the client calls,
The vision flies, the air-built fabric falls.

I ought, perhaps, to apologize for detaining my hearers so long with these extracts from a forgotten poem, but I have felt it in some sort a patriotic duty to rescue it from oblivion as a highly creditable specimen of the early literature of our state. As such it seems to me, it deserves to be remembered. We must bear in mind that when this poem appeared in 1816, very little poetry had been written in America. Bryant's "Thanatopsis" had appeared two years previous in the "North American Review." John Pierpont's "Airs of Palestine" appeared the same year. John Neal's "Battle of Niagara" came out in 1818, as did also Woodworth's poems, of which the "Old Oaken Bucket" still survives. Halleck did not publish anything beyond the newspapers until 1821. Our elder poet, Richard Henry Dana, did not appear in print until 1827. Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, the illustrious trio who have given American poetry a place in the world's literature, were boys at school. Lowell and the younger brood who have followed the elder bards, were not born. So far as I know no poem of so wide scope and sustained length as "The Village," dealing with nature and with man in so many of their aspects, had then appeared in our land. As the production of a young man with no wide experience of the world, it must be considered remarkable, not only for its high standard of right, and its advanced moral sentiment, anticipating many of the reforms of our day, but also for its erudition and its evenly-sustained poetical merit. I have waded through many of the shorter productions of our earlier poets, and I can conscientiously say that I should find it impossible to read two thousand consecutive lines of theirs. Yet I have perused this poem from beginning to end with interest and attention. While

its author attempts no lofty, imaginative flights, he is always clear, strong, correct in versification, at times lyrical in expression, and always has a fixed object in view. I have no means of knowing how this poem was received at the time of its publication. It does not appear to have gained much attention in the literary world. Governor Lincoln's name has no place in the cyclopedias of American literature. Undoubtedly the fact that it was published anonymously in a small provincial town, such as Portland then was, had much to do with its falling into obscurity. Then its great length would deter many from reading it. This is due to the diffuseness with which the author treats his topics. Not content with making his point, he, with a lawyer-like habit, restates it and wanders wide over all collateral themes. With greater conciseness, not so much in expression as in treatment, this would have been a very readable poem. As it is, it justifies the poet's aspiration in his closing lines, and one sympathizes with his regret in throwing aside the harp, which he seems never again to have taken up.

CAPITAL TRIALS IN MAINE

Before the Separation.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 25, 1883.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

The feudal charter granted by King Charles I. to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1639 gave him as lord palatine almost absolute power. Under it a recorder's court for the city of Gorgana was established, having jurisdiction over all criminal offenses, and from whose judgments no appeal could be taken. It is presumed that a trial by jury was allowed; but whether as a matter of right is uncertain, as but few particulars exist as to the modes of procedure. The first capital case before this novel tribunal was that of a woman charged with murdering her husband in 1644. A quaint account of the affair is thus given by Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts: —

"One Cornish, dwelling for some time in Weymouth, removed to Acomenticus for more outward accommodation, and last month was taken up in the river, his head bruised, and a pole sticking in his side, and his canoe laden with clay found sunk. His wife coming to her husband, he bled abundantly. The woman was arraigned before the mayor, Mr. Roger Garde, and others of the Province of Maine, and strong presumptions came in against her, whereupon she was condemned and executed. She persisted in the denial of the murder to the death."

From this brief report it would seem that conviction was established more by superstition than by legal evidence. Although the ancient trial by ordeal never existed in America, it was imagined, down to a much later period than the time of Gorges, that touching the body of one killed would prove the guilt or innocence of the accused. Such miraculous interposition is sanctioned by King James I. of England, in his "Demonology," written in 1597, as follows: "In a secret murther, if the dead body be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will

gush out blood, as if the blood were crying to heaven for revenge; God having appointed that secret supernatural sign for trial of that secret unnatural crime." The delusion was generally accepted as truth by the New England colonies.

Under the date of June 30, 1647, the York Records show the following proceedings in the case of Charles Frost, who was indicted at the General Court held at Saco: "Whereas, there was slain Warwick Heard, of Sturgeon Creek, by Charles Frost (who) does stand here presented and indicted, that he feloniously, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity, did, the 23d of March last, with a fowling-piece, murder the said Warwick Heard, not having the fear of God before his eyes: You are therefore to inquire whether it was willfully done with malice prepense, quarrel, by accident, or unawares or misadventure.

"The jury find the killing was by misadventure, and Charles Frost quit by proclamation."

The third capital trial in the province took place in 1666. Christopher Collins of Scarborough, an enterprising settler, and a man of considerable property, having died suddenly, suspicions were fastened upon James Robinson as his murderer. Robinson was arrested and tried at Casco. The verdict of the jury was "that the sayd Collins was slayne by misadventure, and culpable of his own death, and not upon anie former malice, and therefore the sd James Robinson *not guilty* of murder." He does not now appear to have been held as entirely guiltless, for the records of the court show that he recognized to "sue over his pardon within a twelvemonth and a day."

Upon the subjection of Maine to Massachusetts, in 1677, until 1699, all offenses of magnitude were tried in Boston, and during nearly the whole of the next century the records of the Superior and Supreme Courts for the eastern counties were kept there. For this reason, local historians make little mention of crimes and punishments during that period, except where Indians were concerned. Under date of 1670, Judge Bourne's History of Kennebunk mentions "J. Pottle, the murderer," but gives no account of his trial, and the Life of Sir William Pepperell contains a letter from Governor Shirley concerning one Dearing, "a poor, condemned prisoner in York jail." "I am favored,"

the governor writes Sir William, "with yours per last post, inclosing Dearing's petition; and have thereupon ordered the Secretary to make out a reprieve for him to September, which I hope he will improve to prepare himself for a better death, than, I fear from the heinous, unnatural offense for which he is condemned, his life has been. However, I shall pay so much further regard to his petition, since he intimates that the court and jury were deceived by the evidence produced against him, as to inquire into the circumstances of it from his judges." This was probably William Dearing of Scarborough, who, in 1749, in a fit of sudden passion, murdered his wife with an ax. No provocation had been offered on the part of Mrs. Dearing, who was an amiable woman, and a worthy member of the church. Southgate's History says that remorse for his crime rendered the murderer insane, and he ended his life by suicide.

In June, 1735, Patience Sampson, otherwise called Patience Boston, an Indian, was brought before the supreme court of judicature, at York, charged with the murder of Benjamin Trot of Falmouth, a child of about eight years of age, whom she drowned in a well, July 9, 1734. She went immediately and accused herself "before one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace, continuing her self-accusation from first to last, even on her trial." The sentence of death was pronounced on the twenty-fourth of June, and carried into effect on the following thirty-first of July.

Among the treasures of the Prince Collection, is a quaint pamphlet containing her "Confession, Declaration, Dying Warning and Advice," signed by Samuel Moody, Joseph Moody and William Allen, ministers of York and vicinity, and others, who attended the prisoner in her last hours, and bore testimony to what they termed "her conversion, and the Work of Grace upon her heart."

Between 1740 and 1757, five indictments for capital crimes were found in York County, viz., against George Necho, an Indian, in 1740, Edmund Browne, in 1740, John Seymore, in 1746, David Doughty, in 1747, and Edmund Torrey in 1756. The proceedings upon them are not found in the clerk's office.

In 1749, an affray took place near Wiscasset, between several white men and some of the Canabas tribe, in which one Indian

was killed and two severely wounded. Three of the former, named Obadiah Albee jr., and Richard and Benjamin Holbrook, were taken into custody, and being removed to the jail in York, were indicted for murder at a special term of court, held by resolve, during the last week in February, 1750. Albee was acquitted, but the court being dissatisfied with the verdict, ordered a change of venue to Middlesex County for a trial of the others; the relatives of the deceased, the wounded Indians, and the chief of the tribe being invited to attend. No trial, however, took place, although the prisoners were remanded to York for further proceedings. So strongly seated was the feeling of resentment against the Indians, that no white person, even in times of profound peace, could be convicted for killing one of them: it being found impossible to impanel a jury not containing some members who had suffered from savage depredations, either in their persons, families or estates.

The first capital trial in Cumberland County, took place in 1772, when one Solomon Goodwin was convicted of murder. Smith's Journal relates that he was charged with throwing a man overboard from a boat. Some doubt of his guilt existed, but after several reprieves, he was executed in November, following the commitment of the crime. A great concourse of people, said to have been the largest ever assembled in Falmouth, collected on the occasion. Rev. Mr. Clark of Cape Elizabeth preached a sermon to the multitude, in presence of the prisoner.

In September of the same year, William Tate of Falmouth, was indicted for killing his wife. He had connected a loaded gun for thieves, with the door of his storehouse; his wife attempting to open the door, received the contents of the gun, causing her immediate death. Tate pleaded guilty, but when brought up for sentence produced the king's pardon, and was discharged.

In 1773, an indictment was found in Cumberland County against Joseph Weare for a capital offense. It is not known whether he was tried.

During the revolution, two men in Maine were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death. The first was James McCormick of North Yarmouth, a soldier in Arnold's expedition

against Quebec. In a quarrel, he shot and killed one Reuben Bishop at Fort Weston, now Augusta. He was reprieved by the commanding officer, and sent to Washington at Cambridge. The other, one Jeremiah Baum of Damariscotta was accused, in 1780, of conducting a marauding British party through the back settlements. Martial law then prevailed in that section, and General Wadsworth, who commanded the eastern department, had proclaimed death as the penalty for giving aid or comfort to the enemy. Baum's trial took place at the general's quarters in Thomaston. He was found guilty and ordered to be hung. Being of feeble intellect, and as many thought, scarcely responsible, his sentence was generally regarded as a mere feint, to frighten him and prevent a repetition of the crime. Many patriots interceded for his pardon. But the crisis demanded decision; an example was necessary, and Wadsworth remained inflexible. On the day after his sentence, his execution took place on Limestone hill, where the state prison now stands. Friends of the revolution regretted the exercise of such severity upon so manifestly inoffensive a victim.

At the annual term of the Supreme Judicial Court for Lincoln County, in 1788, John O'Neil was tried for the murder of Michael Cleary. Both were Irishmen, and lived together at Pemaquid Falls. The crime was committed for money, which was found in the possession of O'Neil, and which he pretended had been given him by the deceased. The body showed bruises about the head, and one deep cut, supposed to have been caused by an ax, or an iron bar. O'Neil claimed that the wounds resulted from a fall. At the coroner's inquest he told several inconsistent and contradictory stories to account for the facts.

Three judges composed the court, Hon. William Cushing, chief justice, and associate justices Nathaniel P. Sargent and David Sewall. William Lithgow of Hallowell, and George Thacher of Biddeford were assigned as counsel for the accused.

Soon after the trial, an account of it appeared in a newspaper, of which the following is an extract: —

This being the first capital crime in the county, it drew together a numerous concourse of spectators; the solemnity of the occasion was still heightened by the able and spirited defence of General Lithgow. The trial took up the most part of the day, and when the jury returned

they declared they could not agree. One of them, a good man, seemed to think he ought not to give his voice against the prisoner, because there was no positive evidence. The chief justice then gave them some further instructions, after which they retired for a few moments only, and brought in a verdict of guilty.

Before court adjourned, O'Neil received his sentence, in pursuance of which he was executed at Pownalboro, on the first day of October, 1788.

The statement that this was the first capital trial in Lincoln County is questionable. Crimes meriting the extreme penalty of the law were of frequent occurrence in that part of Maine, both before and during the revolution. The Rev. Jacob Bailey, writing from Pownalboro, in 1773, says: "We have a man named Carter (probably McCarthy) in jail for the murder of Josiah Parker. The prisoner has no chance for his life. Since my residence here (1760) five or six murders have been committed on Kennebec river, and neither of the murderers nor the persons killed ever frequented any Divine worship. Indictments for capital crimes were found in that county against Benjamin Ledilo (1761), Jonathan Sampson (1770), Daniel McCarthy (1773), and Andrew Cancalus (1776). "No record of their disposition exists at Wiscasset.

In 1789, George Pierce of Otisfield was tried at Portland, for killing John McIntosh. The parties had quarreled; words ensued; McIntosh approached Pierce with clinched fists, and the latter struck him on the head with a mallet, causing his death. Pierce was convicted of man-slaughter, it appearing that he acted in self-defence. The prisoner was tried before Chief Justice Sargent, and Judges Sewall and Paine.

The next two trials were also in Portland; one being for murder and piracy, and the other for arson. Of them, Mr. Willis gives the following account:—

Thomas Bird and Hans Hanson, one an Englishman, the other a Swede, had murdered the master of a small vessel on the coast of Africa, in 1789, and brought her into Casco bay, where they commenced a traffic with the inhabitants of Cape Elizabeth. They were arrested and bound over to the Supreme Court. Before the next session, the jurisdiction of maritime causes having been transferred by the states to the United States, the trial was had in the District Court held in Portland, in May, 1790. The prisoners were defended by John Frothingham and William

Symmes. William Lithgow, District Attorney, represented the government. To gratify an excited public curiosity, the trial took place in Dr. Smith's meeting-house. At the close of the first day, the jury rendered a verdict of guilty against Bird, but acquitted Hanson, who was only nineteen years old. Sentence of death was impressively pronounced by Judge Sewall, which was carried into effect on Bramhall's hill, on the 25th of June following, in the presence of several thousand persons; that being the first execution under the laws of the United States.

At the July term of the Supreme Court, 1791, two boys, James Todd and Francis Hilton, were tried for arson. They were charged with burning a dwelling-house in New Gloucester. One of them had confessed having committed the crime. They were defended by Theophilus Parsons, afterward chief justice, who procured an acquittal on the ground that the confession was extorted, and not voluntary; there being no other direct evidence against them.

In 1792, Joshua Abbott was convicted of murder in York. No account of the trial has been found. Preparatory to his execution, sermons were preached to him by the Rev. Matthew Merriam of Berwick and the Rev. Dr. Buckminster of Portsmouth, after which his pardon was read by the sheriff. The indictment of Henry McCausland for murder, in 1793, at Augusta, then a half-shire of Lincoln County, excited much interest. The prisoner was an ignorant laborer, residing in Pittston, who became insane upon religious subjects. He was thought harmless, but finally had become impressed that the Lord had commanded him in a vision to make a burnt-offering and a sacrifice. The offering was to be in the Episcopal church in Gardiner, and the sacrifice a woman named Warren, who lived near. Accordingly, in August, 1793, he set fire to the church, an humble, unfurnished wooden edifice, and it was destroyed. It only then remained to perform the sacrifice. Two months after the burnt-offering, at midnight, he entered the house where the victim was watching a sick person, and deliberately murdering her with a knife, escaped without obstruction. The next day, a great crowd, some of them armed, came after him, but he offered no resistance, and was quietly secured. On being arraigned, he pleaded guilty. The chief justice stated to him the nature of the plea, and suggested a substitution of not guilty. He replied that he killed the woman, and did not like to tell a lie about it. The court did not then record the plea, but remanded him. On the following day, a retraction of the plea was again proposed,

and rejected. Several witnesses were then examined as to his mental condition and conduct before, at the time of, and after the murder. He was never sentenced, and as there were then no insane asylums, he was committed to jail where he remained until his death, which occurred thirty-six years afterward, at the age of seventy. During his long confinement he was harmless and contented.

In July, 1798, Jeremiah Pote of Falmouth was convicted of the murder of his wife, with a shovel, while he was in a fit of jealousy, aggravated by intoxication. He was sentenced to be executed, but died in Portland jail before the time appointed arrived.

In May, 1808, Joseph Drew and Levi Quimby were tried at Portland, for the murder of Ebenezer Parker at Falmouth, in January. Daniel Davis, solicitor general, represented the commonwealth. The accused were defended by John Stephen Emery, Stephen Longfellow, and Prentiss Mellen. Parker, a deputy sheriff, in attempting to break and enter a shop where the prisoners were at work, to arrest Quimby on what proved an illegal execution, was struck by a bludgeon in the hands of Drew, thrown to the latter by Quimby; receiving wounds which proved mortal.

The prisoner's counsel argued that the offense was manslaughter and not murder; that as the precept did not authorize an arrest, therefore Parker was a trespasser in breaking open the door, and his entry might lawfully be resisted by Drew, who had possession of the shop.

In reply, the solicitor general contended, that when the blow was received, the deceased had not given Drew any provocation, sufficient in law to reduce the homicide below the crime of murder.

It was held by the court that the act of breaking open the door did not excuse the crime, because, where a trespass is barely against the property of another, not against his dwelling-house, the owner is not justified in using a deadly weapon; and if he do so, and death ensues, this will be murder, because it is an act of violence beyond the degree of provocation; "but if the beating be with an instrument, and in a manner not likely to kill, and the trespasser should, notwithstanding, happened to be

killed, it will be no more than manslaughter." As to the forcibly breaking the shop door by Parker, in order unlawfully to arrest Quimby, the second provocation used, the court said "it was a principle of law, that if any man, under color or claim of legal authority, unlawfully arrest, or actually attempt or offer to arrest another, and if he resist, and in the resistance kill the aggressor, it will be manslaughter." And so as to any one "aiding the injured party by endeavoring to rescue him, or to prevent an illegal arrest, when actually attempted." It was held that when Parker received his death-wound, he had not arrested Quimby, nor had he in fact offered or attempted to do so.

After a long and laborious trial, which took place in the meeting-house of the second parish, Drew was convicted of murder upon the ground that the officer had not even offered to arrest Quimby when the blow was inflicted, and that the bludgeon used was a deadly weapon. The jury acquitted Quimby, not being satisfied that he threw the weapon to furnish Drew with a deadly instrument to assault the deceased.

On the last day of the term, Drew was brought up to receive his sentence, when his council moved a delay of judgment, because they had evidence that a material government witness had declared before the trial, that he would hang the prisoner by his testimony if he could; and because one of the jury did not agree to find the prisoner guilty of murder, but only of manslaughter; and through mistake of his duty, he believed that he must assent to the verdict of the major part of the jury. The court observed that these allegations, if proved, could not avail the prisoner on any legal principles, by which alone the court must be bound, but if they supported any equitable claims to favor, he might apply to the supreme executive, who had discretion in the matter. Judgment of death was then pronounced against Drew, and he was executed on the twenty-first day of July following, walking from the prison in the rear of the courthouse to the gallows near the observatory, a full half-mile, with sheriff Waite on one side, and the Rev. Mr. Bradley of Stroudwater on the other.

Early in the present century, much trouble arose in portions of the country between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, by a class of people called squatters; "men who," to quote the language of the late John H. Sheppard, esq., "either without color

or title, or under implied grants from pretended agents or speculators, have entered upon lots, cleared them up, built houses, and raised families. Numerous lawsuits, ejectments and quarrels were the result. Many of these settlers believed that 'the higher law' — the law of conscience — justified any measures, even the shedding of blood, in defense of their clearings against the proprietors, and combinations for resistance were formed." The difficulties culminated, in 1809, in the murder of Paul Chadwick, while assisting a surveyor in Malta, now Windsor. He was waylaid and shot by an armed party consisting of Elijah Barton and others, disguised as Indians. Eight of their number, including Barton, were arrested, and lodged in Augusta jail. Their rescue was attempted, and the militia was called out for protection. At the October term of the Supreme Court, the prisoners were indicted for murder, and a special session for the trial was held during that month. Chief Justice Sedgwick and Associate Judges Sewall, Thacher and Parker were present. Samuel S. Wilde of Hallowell and Prentiss Mellen of Portland were engaged in defence, while Daniel Davis, solicitor general, appeared for the government. The defendants elected to be tried together.

The trial occupied ten days, and forty-four witnesses were examined. The fact of guilt was proved beyond any reasonable doubt, at least against some of the prisoners. All of them had been recognized in Indian disguise, on the afternoon of the murder, near the place where it was committed. Seven voluntarily confessed their participation in the crime. Two of their number were identified in the dying declaration of the deceased.

Judge Parker charged the jury, who, after being out two days, to the surprise of the court, bar and spectators, returned a verdict of not guilty. "Higher law" had prevailed. The court made some pertinent and judicious comments upon the extreme danger of setting aside the law of the land, and breaking down the partition walls between right and wrong; remarking that "the last prayer of a good citizen should be that the discreet integrity of jurymen may be as well preserved from the contaminating influence of the threats or patronage of the great, as from the whimsical misguided current of public opinion.

The effect of this trial, upon the whole, was salutary in inducing a spirit of conciliation and an acquiescence in the justice of the quieting and remedial statute, passed two years previously, known as the "Betterment Act."

The first capital trial east of Lincoln County took place at Castine, in 1811, before the Supreme Judicial Court for the counties of Hancock and Washington. Ebenezer Ball of Robbinston was the party accused. He was charged with shooting one John S. Downes of Robbinston, who had an illegal warrant against him. His counsel, William Crosby and Nathaniel Coffin, claimed that the conduct and pursuit of the deceased were such a provocation as reduced the offense from murder to manslaughter, and that there was an attempt to arrest, without legal authority, which must have the same effect. In several particulars, the case resembled that against Drew and Quimby, which was tried three years before at Portland. The judges, who were Sewall, Thatcher and Parker, severally addressed the jury. They took a particular view of the evidence produced, and agreed that "the facts essential to maintain the indictment were fully proved by uncontradictory testimony." They also agreed that the warrant, by virtue of which the deceased intended to arrest the prisoner, was entirely void, and that he must be considered as having pursued the prisoner with the intention of arresting him without lawful authority. The court also stated to the jury the law to be clear, "that if one arrests or attempts to arrest another, without lawful authority, and is killed, the homicide may be manslaughter, but cannot be murder." The only point on which the court differed in opinion was whether there was any evidence of an attempt to arrest.

Two of the court in their charge to the jury stated, that though an intention to arrest was manifest, there was no evidence of an actual arrest, or an attempt to effect it. The true definition of an attempt to arrest, as contradistinguished from an intention to arrest, being that the assailant should be within reach of the object of his pursuit, and actually proceeding to lay hands on him; in like manner as to constitute an assault, which is an offense short of a battery, the party must be so near that his design to strike may take effect, if he be not intercepted.

Judge Sewall delivered it as his opinion to the jury, that the

circumstances would authorize them to believe there was an attempt to arrest, and if they did believe it, they ought to convict only of manslaughter.

The jury retired about ten o'olock at night, and in the forenoon of the next day returned a verdict of guilty, when Judge Sewall, after a very eloquent and pathetic address to the prisoner, pronounced against him the sentence of the law.

It was then stated by Judge Sewall that as a difference of opinion had appeared among the members of the court, upon an important question of law, the case would be stated to the chief justice for his opinion and if either of the judges continued of an opinion upon the question favorable to the prisoner, a statement of the case, with the several reasons would be laid before the executive.

The chief justice concurred with his associates who thought that the crime, as proved, amounted to murder, and Judge Sewall, after due consideration, adopted the same view. Therefore the court offered nothing in mitigation of punishment, and the sentence was carried into effect.

Four years afterward, Castine became the scene of another capital trial. Moses Adams, sheriff of the county of Hancock, who had officiated at the execution of Ball, was arraigned upon an indictment charging him with a more atrocious crime than that for which the latter suffered. Adams resided in Ellsworth. He was a physician of good reputation, a graduate of Harvard College, and a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. On the afternoon of the twelfth day of May, 1815, his wife was found murdered with an ax, in her house. No cause for the crime on the part of the accused was shown. He had been noticed walking rapidly from the premises about two hours before the body was seen, according to several witnesses. Others called it later. His absence during that intervening time was satisfactorily accounted for. His clothes exhibited marks of blood. He claimed that money had been stolen from his desk.

Chief Justice Parker, and Judges Thacher and Jackson held the court. Attorney General Morton represented the government. By request of the prisoner, Samuel S. Wilde and Prentiss Mellen were assigned as his counsel, who claimed in defense, that the deed was committed by a thief, who robbed the house;

that the stains in the clothes were acquired in his surgical practice, and that the vital heat of the body and the unclotted appearance of the blood, excluded the theory of guilt, as Adams had proved an alibi for two hours before the discovery of the murder was made. The evidence, however, developed wide inconsistencies as to time, as to the state of the body, as to warmth, when found, and to the dryness of the blood. In charging the jury, Judge Jackson remarked: "The prisoner was on that day, in such a situation that he had opportunity to perpetrate this deed. It was possible that he did it. This is a necessary step, although a very short one, towards a conviction. Even if it were more probable that he did it than any other person, such a probable presumption is never sufficient to affect the life of any party accused." The chief justice and Judge Thacher observed, that they had intended to have charged the jury; but as they concurred entirely in what had been said by Judge Jackson, they should omit it, and would only add that the question was not whether the jury were entirely satisfied of the innocence of the prisoner; but whether he was proved to be guilty.

After two hours deliberation, a verdict of not guilty was returned. From the high social standing of the accused and his murdered wife, and the wickedness of the crime, the trial attracted more than ordinary interest. The meeting-house, in which it took place, was crowded, and during a panic which ensued from a fear that the galleries were breaking down, several persons were injured. John Bulfinch, who is now living in Waldoboro, at the advanced age of ninety years, and who, with the exception of our venerable associate, John Mussey,* is now the oldest lawyer in Maine, reported the proceedings which were published in a pamphlet.

Public opinion did not sustain the acquittal of Dr. Adams. His character was destroyed, and he soon sought obscurity in a remote settlement, where after many years of physical suffering he died in 1839.†

*Mr. Mussey has deceased since the reading of this paper at the advanced age of ninety six years.

†After his acquittal Dr. Adams lived for many years on a farm in "Number 8" on the stage road, and about half-way between Ellsworth and Bangor. It is the same farm mentioned by Llewellyn Deane, esq., in his paper in this number upon the character and public services of his father, John G. Deane, as the place of residence of William Jellison, visited by that writer in his boyhood. It stood near the top of a long ridge or hill of mostly cleared land, whence a wide view was had of gleaming ponds, half hidden

The last capital trial before the separation was in Castine. It was that of Peol Susup, an Indian of the Penobscot tribe, who, when intoxicated, killed William Knight, an innkeeper at Bangor. The latter had ejected him from the door, and endeavored to drive him away. Susup admitted his guilt, but pleaded not guilty to a charge of murder. The trial took place at the June term of the Supreme Court, in 1817, before Chief Justice Parker and Associate Justices Thatcher, Putnam and Wilde. According to the position urged by Mellen and Williamson, his counsel, the verdict was manslaughter. In mitigation of sentence, John Neptune, an Indian of the Penobscot tribe, deliberately addressed the judges in an impressive speech of several minutes. He used broken English, yet every word was distinctly heard and easily understood. His gestures were frequent and forcible; his manner solemn; and a breathless silence pervaded the whole assembly.

Susup was sentenced to imprisonment, and required to find sureties for keeping the peace.

by the everywhere spreading forests of lofty wooded hills and by the purple masses of the Mount Desert mountains. The house was kept as a hotel, post-office and relay for the daily stage-coach service, and its comfortable and capacious rooms, its neat portico, green blinds and white paint, the numerous barns and out-buildings, and especially the extensive and fruitful orchard starred with yellow and crimson apples, are well remembered as affording one of the pleasantest resting-places in the long journey from home to college, which used in old times to consume the better part of a week. Of course it devolved upon to "mine host" tell to each inquisitive traveler the tragic story of his predecessor, and he was wont to show in the hearth of the public room a circular hole drilled nearly through the brick, where for hours and hours the poor doctor, oppressed with painful memories, sat by the fireside and with one hand supporting his sad face, with the other hand slowly twirled the tongs back and forth with a monotonous grinding. —[ED.]

LETTER

ACCOMPANYING THE GIFT OF A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE BRIG "BOXER."
BY FRITZ H. JORDAN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 28, 1885.

PORTLAND, May 27, 1885.

Mr. H. W. Bryant, Secretary Maine Historical Society:—

I PRESENT to the Society herewith a framed photograph of the brig "Boxer" as she appeared when entering the port of Marseilles in 1815. With the exception of some slight changes rendered necessary in fitting her for the merchant service this is, I think, an accurate representation of this famous brig, which was captured by the United States brig "Enterprise" a few miles to the southward and eastward of Seguin in the memorable action of Sept. 5, 1813, that, to quote from the inscription on the tomb of the gallant commander of the latter vessel, "contributed to increase the fame of American valor."

The "Enterprise," while notoriously a dull sailer and a poor working vessel, had always been a very fortunate one. She was originally built in 1799, and was then a schooner of one hundred and thirty five tons, carrying a battery of twelve six-pounders and a crew of ninety men. In the war with Tripoli she engaged and captured a Tripolitan cruiser of twice her size; and later formed a part of Commodore Preble's fleet at the blockade and bombardment of Tripoli. Previous to the war of 1812 she had been rebuilt, enlarged and rigged as a brig. She then measured one hundred and sixty-five tons, was classed as a vessel of fourteen guns; carried fourteen eighteen-pound carronades and two long nines, and was manned by a crew of ninety men. After the action with the "Boxer" she was employed as a guard ship at Charleston, South Carolina, and was lost at Little Curacoa, West Indies, in 1823. The early records of our custom house having been destroyed by the burning of the Exchange in 1854, I have been unable to

learn the exact tonnage of the "Boxer," but she is thought to have been about two hundred and twenty-five tons register.

Our older citizens tell me that she was a very able, weatherly vessel and a fast sailer; qualities which her picture would seem to indicate. Her armament consisted of twelve eighteen-pound carronades and two long sixes. The "Enterprise" was commanded by Lieutenant William Burrows, a young man twenty-eight years of age, and was on a cruise on the coast of Maine. She entered Portland harbor the third of September, 1813, and sailed again the morning of the fourth. The next morning, at day-break, being Sunday, September 5, she saw the "Boxer" at anchor under Pemaquid. After maneuvering for some time to learn each other's size and armament, the two vessels engaged each other at three P.M. They were well matched. The "Boxer" was superior in men, tonnage and sailing qualities. The "Enterprise" was twenty-one pounds heavier in the weight of her broadside. The action lasted but forty-five minutes and was decided, as in the frigate actions of the same war, by the superior gunnery and seamanship of the American vessel; for, while the "Enterprise" was hulled but once and with the exception of some slight repairs to spars and rigging was ready for another action, the "Boxer" sustained very severe injuries. Captain Hull, who came here to represent the federal government, wrote to Commodore Bainbridge that she had eighteen round shot and an innumerable quantity of grape-shot in her hull and that her spars, rigging and sails were completely riddled. The "Enterprise" had two men killed and seven wounded. One of the former was her gallant commander; and two of the latter died of their wounds. It is not known how many were killed on board the "Boxer," as some of the bodies were thrown overboard during the fight. Among the killed, however, was her commander, Captain Blythe, who was cut in two by a cannon ball early in the action. He was twenty-nine years old, and had but a short time before been a pall-bearer at the funeral of the gallant Lawrence at Halifax.

The two vessels arrived at Portland harbor the next day; and on Wednesday, the eighth, the two captains were buried with the honors of war. Portland has seen few sights more impressive than this funeral pageant. The procession formed at the

court house at nine o'clock A.M., with Robert Ilsley and Levi Cutter, assisted by twelve others, as marshals and proceeded to Union wharf. The vessels lay in the stream and the bodies were brought on shore in barges of ten oars each, rowed by masters and mates, rowing minute strokes, minute guns being fired from Forts Preble and Scammell. The procession was formed as follows: The escort consisted of three companies of militia, Captain Atherton of the Rifle Company being senior officer, then preceded by the marshals and the reverend clergy came the body of Lieutenant Burrows, with Captain Isaac Hull, of the frigate "Constitution" as chief mourner, and followed by the officers and crew of the "Enterprise," then the body of Captain Blythe followed by the officers and crew of the "Boxer," then the selectmen, judges, consuls, officials of all kinds and citizens generally. The route of the procession was up Union wharf through Fore and Pleasant streets to High street and thence through Main and Middle streets to the Second Parish Church, where the funeral services were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Payson, and from thence to the Eastern cemetery where the bodies were entombed.

This action was a source of much pride to our nation and has been commemorated in several seamen's songs, one of which beginning with

There was an enterprising brig

and with the refrain

We boxed her into Portland,
We boxed her off the town,

is well known.

Coming so soon after the capture of the "Chesapeake" by the "Shannon," in Massachusetts bay, it, in a measure, counteracted the despondency caused by her loss, and restored the prestige previously gained by the capture of the "Guerriere," the "Macedonian," the "Frolic," and others.

The "Boxer" was sold at marshal's sale, November 12, 1813, and was bought by Thomas Merrill, jr., for five thousand, six hundred dollars. He also bought ten carronades of her armament and many articles of her inventory, some of which are still in possession of our family. The carronades are thought to have been sold to Bryant & Sturgis of Boston, and to have been put

on board the privateer "Hyder Ali," which was built for them near the foot of High street, Portland.

In 1814, there being danger of a British descent on the coast, the shipping in the harbor was taken above Vaughan's bridge; guns were taken from the Portuguese ship "San José Indiano" (a prize to the privateer "Yankee"), and mounted on the "Boxer," which latter vessel was moored to protect the shipping and was manned by the Rifle Company. Happily the descent was not made. In 1815, the "Boxer" was refitted for the merchant service, went to New York and from thence sailed under letters of marque for Marseilles, under command of Captain William McLellan, father of our Ex-mayor Jacob McLellan. At Marseilles, Captain McLellan had the water-color painting made of which this photograph is a copy. This painting is now the property of Captain Jacob McLellan who has kindly allowed me to have it photographed. The name of the painter is unknown. He was, however, apparently an artist of no mean merit, and as it is known that he made accurate measurements of the vessel and spars, it is probable that he has given us a correct representation of her as she then appeared. He has represented her as under top-sails, top-gallant sails, and jib with main try-sail scandalized, royal yards across and foresail and mainsail brailed up. She is on the starboard tack, with the walls and fortifications of Marseilles and a Mediterranean polacre in the distance. Her hull does not differ greatly in appearance from vessels built in the north of England twenty-five years ago. Her bowsprit is very long, her foremast stepped well forward and standing nearly straight, her mainmast rakes aft, peculiarities common at that day. Her waist is low, her deck is apparently flush. She shows seven ports on a side. At her peak is an American ensign of fifteen stripes, at her fore the private signal of Thomas Merrill jr., blue, white and blue in three vertical stripes. From the letter of Captain Hull, it is known that she had hammock nettings and a top-gallant forecastle; these were, without doubt, removed when she was refitted, as they do not now appear; her high cat-heads and knight-heads, however, still show. Her bottom is apparently wood-sheathed, probably to cover up plank injured by shot.

This photograph has been much praised by several of our older

shipmasters on account of its accuracy and life-like appearance and from its recalling to them many nautical appliances long since gone out of use. Her topsails are single, the weather leeches being hauled flat by fore and maintop bowlines, her cables are hemp, her anchors stowed well aft, her long boat is carried on deck amid-ships, she is apparently steered by a tiller.

In connection with the repairs made to the vessel there is a curious tradition in our family. Much of the material was of course unfit to use again and Mr. Merrill had some of the condemned wood hauled to his house for fuel, when an old Scotch serving-woman employed as a domestic peremptorily refused to use it because it had human blood upon it. How the matter was settled is not known. After the "Boxer" returned from this voyage she was sold to a Portuguese house and was employed by them for many years as a mail packet between the Cape de Verde islands and Lisbon.

Capt. Jacob McLellan tells me that in 1825 he was second officer of the ship "John" of Portland one hundred and seventy-five tons, employed in the African trade. On the outward passage they made the Cape de Verde islands at dusk, and on entering the harbor of Port Praya, after dark, were passed by a heavy brig outward bound; this vessel they learned the next day was the "Boxer." What was her final end is not known, but she is thought to have been lost on the Brazil coast.

Very respectfully,

FRITZ H. JORDAN.

JOHN G. DEANE.

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE,

With a Recapitulation of his Services, in Establishing the Northeastern Boundary of Maine.

BY HIS SON, LLEWELLYN DEANE, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 8, 1885.

John Gilmore Deane was born in Raynham, Massachusetts, March 27, 1785. His parents were Joseph and Mary (Gilmore) Deane, both of whom were born and lived and died, in that town.

He graduated at Brown University in the class of 1806; read law in Taunton, Massachusetts, with Judge Seth Padelford, and settled in Ellsworth, Maine, about 1810. He married, September 13, 1810, Rebecca, who was born in Taunton, May 29, 1792, and was the youngest daughter of Judge Padelford and Rebecca (Dennis) his wife.

Mr. Deane was admitted to practice as attorney in the Court of Common Pleas, Hancock county, in 1810, and, according to the rule in those days, four years later as counselor in the Supreme Court. For many years Hancock county was very large territorially. From 1810 to 1816, it included a portion of Penobscot county, and from 1810 to 1827, most of what is now Waldo county, as well as a part of the present Knox county. Castine was its shire town till February 17, 1837. Mr. Deane acquired a very extensive law practice, and was held in high esteem by the Court and Bar. He enjoyed the warm personal friendship of Simon Greenleaf, John Orr, Jacob McGaw, William Abbott, Samuel Fessenden, William P. Preble, Thomas A. Deblois, Edward Kent, Joshua W. Hathaway, Prentiss Mellen,

George Herbert, Charles S. Daveis, and most of the judges and leading lawyers of the state in the earlier period of its history. He was an assiduous student of the law, and became well versed in its principles, but he had besides a fine taste for general literature, and his style of composition was remarkably pure and graceful. His law library was a very large one for the period when he was in practice, and comprised the standard text-books, and the principal American and English reports, and he gathered, during his life a very good miscellaneous library of the best and standard works in history, poetry and fiction. He was a subscriber to the North American Review from its first issue.

Mr. Deane undoubtedly held some town offices, but as the records of Ellsworth were destroyed by fire some years ago, it is not now possible to say what offices he filled, or when he was the incumbent of the same. It appears by official papers in the Massachusetts State House that, in 1813, he was one of the selectmen who signed the petition to reimburse the town of Ellsworth for the expenses of the militia, ordered out to suppress the riot in Castine, in July, 1813.

He was connected with the militia organizations during his earlier professional life, and was in brief service as an officer during the war of 1812. He subsequently rose to the position of lieutenant colonel in the militia, and in his later years was commonly known as "Colonel" Deane.

He had a great fondness for all kinds of manly sports; loved to have about him good horses and fine dogs, and was enthusiastic in hunting and fishing. His ardent pursuit of these pastimes led him very often to make long excursions into the then wild regions north and northeast of the town of Ellsworth. He was famous in all the region round about as a marksman. It was commonly reported that at the Thanksgiving shootings he was either ruled out, or obliged to shoot double or treble the distance of the ordinary range.

While I have spoken of my father as a lawyer and a man, I deem it only proper to say a few words about him personally and socially. In stature he was about five feet ten inches in height, of medium size, rather spare in flesh, with a dark complexion, and brown hair and eyes. He never wore a beard. Though a good conversationalist he was more inclined to taciturnity than

to garrulity. In his family, however, and with his children he was more the "big brother" than the stern parent, and had a pleasant and affectionate way of entering into the studies, sports and engagements of our youth. I well remember, when in the winter of 1838-39, he was busy with a draughtsman in the preparation of his map of Maine, and used the parlors of our State street house in Portland as his office, how intensely he was delighted at finding one day among his papers my childish attempt at a war romance. The marvel and fun of it were on his tongue for many a day afterward. Nor can I ever forget the romps we younger children used to have with him on the floor, sofas and about the room. When I was only ten years of age, once on his return from a brief absence, he gave me "Botta's American Revolution," saying that though written by an Italian, it was the only good history of that war. He was greatly concerned that his boys should be well versed in history, and took a youthful pride in the account my brothers, Joseph and Henry, gave of the debates before the Pnyxian and Philomathian Debating Societies, which at that time had considerable local reputation, particularly the former. Always on his return from a trip to the "westward," that is Massachusetts, he was sure to remember each of his boys with the present of a book.

My father was not a member of any church. In his earlier life in Ellsworth, after the organization of the Congregational church in 1812, he with my mother worshiped there, and the whole family attended that church till our removal to Portland. The pastor from September 8, 1812 to November 11, 1835, Reverend Peter Nourse (brother to the late Dr. Amos Nourse of Bath, formerly U. S. Senator from Maine), was a famous man in those days, renowned for his integrity in doctrine, for his zeal in the gospel ministry, and for the goodness of his heart. I know we little folks, in the latter days of his pastorate, used to think his sermons exceedingly long. I am sure that he sowed good seeds in that soil, and watered them faithfully with prayers and tears. When I first read Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" it seemed to me that his parish clergyman

Passing rich with forty pounds a year.

was either the real or counterpart Pastor Nourse. This godly man was indeed highly useful in his time in educational as

well as religious matters; but, if my childhood's memory serves me well, his life was not a gay period of enjoyment, or rich with present rewards for work well done. I hold his memory in warm esteem because of the respect and affection with which my parents regarded him. Our family were not allowed to talk lightly or with disrespect of our religious teacher. He was my mother's pastor and spiritual counselor in the many scenes of affliction she was called to pass through in the sickness and death of those of her children who deceased before we moved from Ellsworth, and in the death of her mother, Mrs. Judge Padelford, who had made her home with my parents, for some time before her decease, which occurred about 1822. The funerals of all these were attended by Pastor Nourse. They were all buried in the Congregational churchyard, where a modest stone tells their resting-places and names.

Nor was my father interested only in the upbuilding of the church where his family worshiped—his catholic views in religious matters led him to make a donation toward the building of the Baptist church which was erected on the west side of the river, not far from the present county buildings. I suppose his gift amounted at least to the price of a pew, for I know that not long before we moved from Ellsworth, I attended services in that church one afternoon with some older members of our family, and sat in what we called, "Father's" pew.

I am greatly surprised, as I write, to note how vividly the names of many of the active business men in Ellsworth in those days come to my mind. I am sure I could have had next to no personal acquaintance with any of them. There was Andrew Peters, who lived in the fine large house on the Bangor road opposite the Congregational church, and who did business in a brick store on the northwest corner of this road and the Bucksport road close by the bridge. His son John A., now chief justice (who, also, was not long since and for several terms a distinguished member of Congress), was one of the famous boys of those early days. Of a summer's day in passing Mr. Peters' residence on my way to school at the town house, I used to linger and gaze with longing eyes at the wonderful bounty of apples on the trees in front of his house. I have never seen any such apples since. There was, too, Deacon Samuel Dutton, of blessed

memory, who raised a large family of good business men; and Dr. Peck with his wonderful saddle-bags filled with medicine of all sorts, and marvelous to cure, who was to my youthful mind a sort of superhuman being in his wonderful possession of power to heal the sick and diseased. But how shall I call the roll in which appears the names of Jordan, Black, Whitaker, McFarland, Tisdale, Tinker, Parcher, Buckmore, Joy, Whiting, Jarvis, Macomber, Lowell, Grant, Warren, Hopkins, Robinson, and many others? I would not fail to remember with most sincere affection William Jellison—one of a large family all good and true, both men and women. He married my relative, Miss Julia Tisdale, whose acquaintance he made while she was visiting my mother, her kinswoman. They lived a short time after their marriage in Ellsworth village, or at the "Bridge," as we called it in those days. Then they moved to "Number 8" on the Bangor road, about half-way between Bangor and Ellsworth, and settled on a farm in what is now called North Ellsworth. Of Mr. Jellison's large family, I remember well his son Charles, a promising young merchant in Portland, who died suddenly in his early manhood; Edward, a young man of great promise, who died while in Union College; George a prosperous business man in New York; Zachariah, who was some years a merchant in Boston, and later in Nebraska, who now holds an important office in the New York custom house, and John, who, after a good war record, died with his armor on. There were other sons and two daughters. Their farmhouse was often visited by me, once with my father and mother in the early summer of 1839, and alone at later dates. Mr. Jellison was possessed of intellectual power of more than ordinary grasp, and I never met a man of nobler heart or more genuine wit—the kind that runs over with humor and delicious fun.

There comes up before me as I write a curiously intangible vision of an old gentleman carrying a cane, and dressed in short clothes, wearing a cue, and a bountiful white shirt bosom. I cannot certainly fix any name to him, and yet, though the vision is dim, I am sure that it has a foundation in some personage of those early days. Yet I have a shadowy recollection of such a name as Major Phillips. It occurs to me, too, that there was a wonderful fiddler, one "Black George," who was always on hand

when a dance took place. Captain Jesse Dutton, the renowned authority in all martial matters, and the hero of all the musters, that I heard talked of in those times, with their sham fights, is a prominent figure in my memory.

About the same time, or just prior to my father's settlement in Ellsworth, John Black, a young Englishman, settled there as the agent of the Bingham heirs, who owned very extensive tracts of land in Hancock and Washington counties, called in common phrase, the "Bingham Purchase." The acquaintance between the two young men ripened into a strong and enduring friendship, which lasted uninterrupted till my father's death. "Colonel" Black was the name by which he was familiarly known, from the fact that, after he became an American citizen, he entered ardently into the militia service, and by regular promotion, became as I have been always told, colonel of the regiment. He built on the Blue Hill road, about half a mile from the "Bridge" a very large brick house, set at some distance back from the road, which he occupied till his death, and which is yet standing. I recall with pleasure many visits in early youth, and later, at this delightful home. He was not only one of the best business men ever known in Maine, but he was thoroughly educated and equipped with many of the elegant accomplishments peculiar to the aristocratic classes in the land of his birth. He was a good draughtsman and an amateur painter of no mean skill. Though not large in stature, he was very noticeable in appearance, and in his personal address he was commanding and dignified, and his manners were polite and courteous. His management of the great trusts of the Bingham estate was characterized by the strictest diligence and fidelity, as well as the most scrupulous honesty. He was quiet in his mode of life, simple in his tastes, and by tact and careful management without oppression or extortion he accumulated a very large property. He reared a numerous family, and many of his descendants are now residents of Ellsworth. He married a daughter of Gen. David Cobb of Gouldsboro, Maine (who came from Taunton, Mass., to act as the agent of the "Bingham Purchase"), and reared a numerous family, and many of his descendants are now residents of Ellsworth. On the death of Gen. Cobb in 1830, he became, as his successor, full agent of the "Bingham Purchase." He died in Ellsworth,

October 25, 1856, at a ripe age, and profoundly regretted not only by the citizens of that town, but by a very large circle of friends and acquaintances in Maine and in Massachusetts. His remains were interred in the family tomb on his estate.

Colonel Black was able to throw a good share of legal business into Mr. Deane's hands, and in attending to it Mr. Deane was required to make long expeditions through the wild and sparsely settled portions of Hancock and other eastern counties. By means of his hunting tours and these extended excursions, Mr. Deane acquired a very thorough experience with life in the woods, and became most peculiarly well fitted for the performance of the public duties which devolved upon him later, in connection with the northeastern boundary.

He was active as a Federalist in politics; and was a representative from Ellsworth to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, and representative from Ellsworth to the Legislature of Maine in 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1831. What he did, as well as the value of his services as a legislator in the estimate of his associates, may be generally understood from the following memoranda of the reports he wrote and the resolves passed, viz: —

1828. Report upon the Northeastern Boundary Question — 8vo., pages 55, accepted by Legislature.

1830. Resolve of Legislature allowing him one hundred and seventy dollars for negotiating release of land claims with Penobscot Indians.

1831. Report of Committee on State Lands of which he was Chairman, 8vo., pages 12.

1831. Report as Chairman of the Committee on the Northeastern Boundary, pages 4.

1831. Report as Chairman of the Committee on the Northeastern Boundary, pages 13.

1831. Resolve granting him half township of land.

1831. Letter to Governor Samuel E. Smith about the Northeastern Boundary.

1839. Resolves paying him four hundred and sixty-five dollars for locating the Northeastern Boundary line under resolve of March 23, 1838.

Most probably, however, this list represents but a very small part of the actual work he did while in the Maine legislature; but it indicates how busy he was and the kind of work that engaged his attention.

It should be stated in this connection that the search for my

father's legislative history has been somewhat difficult, because the state documents were not printed till 1833, and some of the archives were lost in the removal of the public records from Portland to Augusta, when the latter town was made the capital.

By degrees, and from his varied experience in the woods and wild portions of the state, as well as from his education in public affairs, he had become intensely interested in the questions relating to the northeastern boundary. Among my earliest recollections relating to him and our Ellsworth home, are the constant talks between him and his visitors about the "disputed territory" and "Madawaska," and our public rights to the fine lands in the northern part of our state, just above the St. John river. From the glowing description of the fine wheat soil up there, and the agricultural possibilities of that region, in my childish imagination I used to think it was a very "Beulah" land. In his frequent journeys in search of evidence or otherwise to the northern part of the state, officially or privately, he accumulated an immense amount of evidence in the form of affidavit, or other testimony on points relating to this boundary question. He published articles in many of the newspapers of the state embodying his information or views upon this important theme. These contributions, over the signatures of "Cato," "Ishmæl," and "Peter Parley," attracted great attention and had a deep influence in educating and directing the public mind. I have an autograph letter from Gov. Enoch Lincoln to my father, referring to these writings and thanking him for what he had done in this way. I have recently found a portion of the original drafts of these papers. They are now being very carefully edited by a valued friend, rarely capable in such matters, and will in due time be deposited in the archives of the Maine Historical Society. His unpublished manuscripts on the subject were very voluminous —there being at the time of his death enough of them to fill a large trunk — all written in his very plain and rapid hand. I suppose that the family thought that the settlement of the national disputes had taken all value from these papers, since by degrees, and chiefly by neglect, they were lost. In one of his later journeys to the disputed territory, he cut from a tree, which he said was on the exact northeast corner of Maine, according to

his loyal idea, a stick which he had fashioned into a cane, in the ivory head of which he had engraved a record of the place whence he obtained it. This cane he carried constantly thereafter till the day of his fatal illness.

Honorable Israel Washburn, jr., in his very able article on "The Northeastern Boundary," read before the Maine Historical Society at Portland, May 15, 1879, makes frequent and most honorable mention of the value of Mr. Deane's services in the prosecution of our state's great controversy with her foreign neighbor.

In this same connection I recall with a son's pride the very warm and generous remarks made to me in 1846, while I was in college, by ex-Governor Robert P. Dunlap, who was then living in Brunswick. Though he and my father were of opposite politics, he entertained the most profound respect for the ability and energy with which my father had done his work for the state, in this behalf. Governor Dunlap asked me once when I was visiting at his house if I had ever read my father's reports on the subject, and on my answering "No," took them from his library shelves and handed them to me, remarking that I ought to know all about these matters, thoroughly and well, for if ever a son had cause for being proud of his father's public services, I had.

I also call to mind what Honorable Nathan Clifford, afterward judge of the United States Supreme Court, remarked to me on this subject in 1851, soon after he moved to Portland. He said that though not of the same political faith as my father, he had, as a young member of the legislature in 1831, cast no vote which he remembered with more pleasure than that in favor of granting a township of land to my father, as a proper recognition of the value of his services in this great public matter.

Late in life Mr. Deane had accumulated quite a large property, chiefly in timber lands. Nor was he so selfish in his knowledge of good timber lands, as not to advise his friends frankly as to his opinion in these matters. His assistance in this behalf was once so valuable to Honorable Elijah L. Hamlin of Bangor, and Mr. Ruggles of Columbia, that they jointly presented him a very handsome and complete service of silver plate. I well remember the marvel of its display, when in 1835 the package was opened in our Ellsworth home, fresh from the store of Jones, Low &

Ball of Boston. This service was more than a nine days' wonder in the little village.

In the fall of 1835, he moved to Portland and bought the property on the south side of State street, between Gray and Spring streets, which Mason Greenwood had finely improved. This property continued to be the homestead of his family, or descendants, till the spring of 1884.

My father was at Cherryfield in the fall of 1839, attending to business in connection with his large landed interests, and becoming ill early in November, was treated with such success that he was supposed to be recovering. By some accident the nurse gave him by mistake tartar emetic instead of cream tartar. When the mistake was discovered, all possible remedies were tried but to no purpose. He was sick at the residence of J. Tilden Moulton, who married my cousin, Ann P. Cook, (she had been raised in our family), and died there November 10, 1839.

When we read in these latter days the history of the boundaries of Maine there is much to marvel at and much to excite our ire. In the conscious strength of our national power of today, we are apt to forget that once the nation was weak, and in comparison with Great Britain quite insignificant, having no rights which that haughty nation was bound to respect. The boundaries of Maine contiguous to the British provinces seem to be so clearly stated in article second of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, that it now appears very strange that any dispute ever arose about them. The northerly line is thus described: —

From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, to wit, that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwestern most head of Connecticut river.

The eastern line is described thus: —

East, by a line drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands which divide the waters that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the United States, and lying between the lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia, on the one part, and East Florida, on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay

In the above map, the lines referred to by colors in Mr. Deane's paper (page 189) being all of one color are designated in small type upon the same.

of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limit of the said province of Nova Scotia.

In regard to the eastern line it seems to have been proved beyond any reasonable doubt that there were three rivers which had been in turn, or interchangeably, called the "St. Croix"; viz., the Magaguadavic, the most eastern; the Schoodic, the present St. Croix, the middle; and the Cobscook, the western; and that the true St. Croix of the treaty of 1783 was the Magaguadavic. But the superior finesse of the British on the "St. Croix commission," in 1798, succeeded in causing the Schoodic to be permanently called the St. Croix, and thus our state lost on the east a tract of land nearly two hundred miles long by about thirty broad.

It was the evident determination of the British government in some way to get land enough from the eastern and northern sides of Maine to afford ample room for all desired or necessary communication between the Canadas and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. After they had sliced off so large a piece from the eastern part of the state, then their whole force was redoubled to gain all that part of our state above a line drawn west from Mars hill! If this had been accomplished the size of the state would have been very seriously reduced. The outrage of these claims will almost be obvious by a glance at any map in view of the above extracts from the treaty.

I have endeavored to picture these facts of our great loss of territory, north as well as east, in the accompanying map, where are shown the treaty lines of 1783, in which the red line indicates the original eastern and the northern boundaries; the yellow line across the state and down the eastern side represents the one claimed by the British some considerable time after the treaty of 1783 as the northern line of the state — not always confidently, but with increasingly loud protestations after the dispute over the boundary question had waxed warm. The present eastern, northern, and northwesterly boundary lines are indicated in full blue lines, and by the St. John river. It will be seen at a glance how great and valuable is the territory which we lost in 1798 and 1842.

This present northern boundary was the result of the Ashburton treaty of 1842. The rule devised by the exalted states-

manship of that treaty seems to have been to split the difference between the claims of the two parties. But it is not necessary here to go into any details, since in the aforesaid monograph by Hon. Israel Washburn, jr., all these matters are treated with careful detail. It answers all my present purposes to show what our state had then already lost, and to indicate what my father was contending for, namely, the territory between the St. John river and the "highlands" of the treaty of 1783, and the great public value of the interests concerned. His unfaltering advocacy of our good cause fairly indicate the large-minded and public-spirited man he was. The people of the state of Maine do, I am sure, now fully approve what is sometimes called Governor John Fairfield's "declaration of war" in 1838, when he ordered out the state militia to defend our territory as we then claimed it. It is not necessary now to enlarge on all this. It is an historical fact in which the people of Maine take great pride.

But I should have dwelt more at length upon the character and value of my father's public services in connection with this Northeastern Boundary question, if the matter had not many years ago been treated very justly, fully and ably, in the following excellent, feeling tribute to his memory which was written in 1839, by Hon. Charles S. Daveis, LL.D., of Portland, then one of the first lawyers at the Cumberland bar, and in the full prime of his brilliant talents and high reputation. Mr. Daveis had been repeatedly called upon to act a very distinguished public part in connection with this very Northeastern Boundary question, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the men who had had any connection, great or small, in this very important matter. He knew well to whom praise belonged. He had been long intimately associated with Mr. Deane in matters pertaining to the Northeastern Boundary question; had known him as a legislator, a lawyer, a man of business and affairs. He wrote generously, but with a full acquaintance of everything pertaining to the subject.

The article appeared in the "Portland Advertiser," Tuesday evening, November 19, 1839, and is as follows: —

JOHN G. DEANE.

On Saturday afternoon were committed to the grave the remains of John G. Deane. They had been removed from Narraguagus (Cherryfield), where he expired on Sunday, the tenth instant, and were conveyed

from his late residence on State street to the South burying ground in this city, attended by his family and friends. The deep domestic sorrow was accompanied by a most sincere attestation of sympathy and respect.

The decease of Mr. Deane, indeed, thus suddenly occurring in the prime of life, upon a mere occasional absence from home, is not only a severe private loss, but it is also a great public one. To estimate it properly, it is necessary to refer to the memorial of the past, which he has raised for himself by his talents and services, inscribed as well upon the tablet of his social and professional relations, as upon the large, laborious and faithful record of the duties which he has performed to the public.

If there was any among us who had a right to stand up and say,—

"I have done the state some service, and they know it."

this was a persuasion of which Mr. Deane may have been justly and honestly conscious; and so marked and prominent an object of consideration and esteem has he been, now for a long space of time in the view of the people of Maine, that it needs only to pronounce his name, at this moment of unexpected and melancholy bereavement to those who cherish his memory, to present at once a living and expressive image of his person, character and virtues. Who in this land did not know John G. Deane, and who, knowing him, would be likely soon to forget him, or be willing to suffer his honest fame to pass into silent oblivion? A few faint traces from recollection, and from the slight materials at hand, are all that is proposed, in this scanty and hasty notice, to furnish.

John G. Deane was a native of the Bay state of Massachusetts, and was a descendant, it is stated, of John Deane who early came to that old colony from England, and settled at Taunton, the stock, it is supposed, of those that bear that numerous name in New England, and who have reflected no dishonor on the fair inheritance of their Puritan ancestors. He was himself born in Raynham, and was a graduate of Brown University in Rhode Island about the year 1806, and studied law, it is understood, with the late Judge Seth Padelford, one of whose daughters he afterward married. He commenced the practice of law at Ellsworth in this state, which he pursued with credit and success; and where he established not only the solid reputation of a learned, sound and discriminating lawyer, but enjoyed also, in an eminent degree, the general confidence of his clients and fellow citizens. This latter portion of public favor he shared with his friend, George Herbert, a most amiable and worthy brother of the profession, whose fine tastes, elegant accomplishments and exquisite sensibility, will long be preserved in remembrance by those who had the pleasure and privilege of his personal acquaintance. Ellsworth being entitled to but one representative in the legislature of Massachusetts, Mr. Deane was chosen alternately with Mr. Herbert for several years, and was a member of that body, it is believed, as early as 1813. He was marked as a man of talent, spirit and application.

Mr. Deane's location in the eastern part of the state, and the course of his professional business led him to an increasing acquaintance with the proprietary lands in this state, large tracts of which were lying in grants from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the principal of which were the "Bingham purchases." It was this that probably first turned his attention toward that subject, which afterward engaged so large a portion of it, in one very important direction. After the separation of Maine, Mr. Deane became again a member of the legislature while it sat in Portland, where he began to be widely known and his value equally understood. He did not make that his place of residence, however, till 1835.

It was here during the session of 1827 and 1828, at the period when such a vigorous impulse was given to the vital interests of this state by the measures adopted by Governor Lincoln in relation to our territorial rights, that Mr. Deane distinguished himself by the active and leading part he took, and the persevering study and unwearied diligence he bestowed in regard to the perplexed and protracted question of our northeastern boundary. It was the intrinsic justice, as well as the strict and perfect legal character of this right on our behalf, that first recommended itself to the native integrity, while it presented itself also in the clearest light to the discriminating sagacity of his mind, and inspired that honest zeal which gave such a concentrated energy to all his powers and faculties in this single cause. It was this that urged him to spare no pains, to relax no effort, to lose no opportunity of promoting that great end to which he then and thenceforward entirely and almost exclusively devoted himself. He shunned no labor, and thought no day long in which he could do anything to advance it. Of this all-absorbing, and to him engrossing subject, it may be truly said that he summered and wintered it. He ate, drank and slept it. It was his thought by day and his dream by night, and the first idea to which he awakened again in the morning. On this point he was instant in season and out of season. He was ever ready and alert on every occasion which presented, and prompt for every service which the interest of the state demanded. At every turn and crisis of the question when it was first put in the shape of a convention and about to be submitted to an arbiter, or swamped by his preposterous award — when our citizens were one after another seized and consigned to foreign prisons, and the ensigns of an alien and intrusive jurisdiction were planted on our independent soil — and the sovereign power of self-protection, which this political community was bound to exercise for those who put their trust in it insultingly set at defiance, then it was that his spirit rose with every emergency; it quailed at no peril or trial to the virtue of the question, and sunk only with any visible declension of its interest, of which there were spells and symptoms in the public mind. It was only at those intervals of repose to this exciting question, during which it has been so strangely and inexplicably adjourned, that the ordinary interests and occupations of life resumed with him any actual measure of their importance and

influence. Never, it may be nearly said, did they regain their real ascendancy. Still the invincible energy of his spirit on that predominating subject was not to be subdued or broken down. No danger appalled, nor difficulty disheartened him. With an industry that nothing could either tire or escape; with a memory faithful to every circumstance that it ever seized, with an instinct sure as the magnet, and a soul as true as steel to the cause in which he was embarked, this was the master subject of his mind. It was his ruling passion. When he once got upon this theme, "His foot was on his native heath and his name was Mac Gregor!" It is no injustice to say that he had probably mastered more of its details — historical, statistical and geographical connected together — than any other individual; and that he had written, spoken and printed, it might almost be said, not only more than any other person, but more than all others put together. No one engaged in the various calls of this question had looked into it more thoroughly, or was more intimately or profoundly acquainted with all its bearings. If there is any overallowance of the measure of merit and praise that may possibly be accorded to him on this head, it can be hardly more than is due to his unbounded and indefatigable devotion to this supreme object, which ended only with his breath.

Mr. Deane's first reports on this subject, which brought the matter most distinctly into public view, were made, as already adverted to, in 1827 and 1828. In 1830 he made a tour of observation over the ground of controversy, by order of the government, in immediate connection with Judge Preble. In 1831 and 1832 he again became conspicuous for the part he took in incorporating the precinct of Madawaska, and resisting the no doubt well-intended but idle and absurd arbitrament of the king of the Netherlands. It was on this account, and at this period, that the legislature made Mr. Deane a grant of a half township of land on the upper waters of the St. John, as a testimonial (it is believed unanimous) of the grateful sense entertained of his services. This grant has probably, however, been unproductive, to say the least, owing to the distance of the spot and the unsettled state of the question. Perhaps it was the design that Mr. Deane, who had been its champion, should be set there as a pioneer. At all events, the grant and the post should be made good. In 1838, when the resolves of the legislature for an ascertainment and survey of the northeastern boundary of the state were required to be carried into execution by Governor Edward Kent, Mr. Deane was the person at once designated by him as most peculiarly fitted for the performance of that important duty. How zealously and faithfully he entered upon the service assigned to him, striking out and pursuing his own route, under the general directions he had received, leaving nothing unexplored which lay within his reach, and not quitting the ground until it was covered with snow too deep to proceed in the search, and the face of the earth was obscured from further investigation, his recent report on the subject fully demonstrates. In this expe-

dition he was seconded by two worthy and useful associates whose assistance was valuable, and who justly share in the credit of the undertaking. The new map of the territory which he prepared from this survey and the former materials at his command, was a work upon which he bestowed great pains and expense; and it may be feared that the author of it died with a feeling that his task in this report had not been duly appreciated and the service properly considered. It is still to be hoped that this important labor will not fail to be suitably estimated.

No man. it may be said, was ever more inflexibly tenacious of his own just purposes, and at the same time more truly regardful of the invariable principles of right, and of whatever was due to the proper claims of others, wether few or many. He was simple in his tastes, undisguised in his intentions, plain and transparent in all his aims, unostentatious, and even negligent in regard to some of the forms and observances of society. Like governor Enoch Lincoln, he loved to feel himself in the sublime, ennobling presence of nature, and to pierce the vast profound, unpeopled solitudes of the forest. He liked also to meet the remnant of the ancient race of proprietors in their native woods, or on the streams which they navigated in their bark canoes — and to associate and hold converse with the hardy cultivators of the soil — although these genuine sympathies did not estrange him from the more busy, social haunts of men.

The cast of his countenance was remarkably intellectual, and indicative of acuteness, foresight and sagacity. It had also something of a more grave, reflective and resolved character. The upper part of his face, particularly the intersection of the principal features bore a striking resemblance to the bust of Alexander Hamilton ; while the perpetual activity of its fibers in their animated expression, might remind one who had seen the original of the incessant motion of Lord Brougham's. He also had something in him of antiquity — something of the Codrus and Curtius — some strain of that Roman spirit of self-sacrificing patriotism which tells in the stories of Horatius Cocles and Mutius Scævola — some vein too of the Russells and Sidneys of the seventeenth century — spirits prepared for all the emergencies of moral, political and physical martyrdom — for the ordeals of a virtue that had not ceased to be more than an empty sound — and aspiring to an elevation superior to the sordid subterfuges of shuffling selfishness and compromising expediency. This was an aspiration worthy of the object of this obituary ; and there was that within him which did not derogate from this lofty calling. That he did not live to see the end of all his travail is most certain.

But he lived long enough to see the cause for which he had labored, adopted by the unanimous voice of the Congress of the United States, and its justice and purity acknowledged by the world. And it is no less certain that if he does not deserve a marble monument from the people of Maine, he deserves a monument as durable as marble in their undying remembrance, affection and respect.

In the multitude of emotions that throng and mingle in the mind

which this sudden stroke of providence is calculated to call forth — amid these last dying traces of autumnal change — when the splendid month of November is speaking the great moral lesson of the year — if there was nothing else in the world — if there was not something infinitely superior to all the visible manifestations of the material universe and above all that this glorious organic structure is capable to afford, we might well mourn over these melancholy vestiges of mortality and decay. If it were not otherwise, were it not for higher hopes and the interior supports of a sublimer faith, by which the spirit is sustained in its far upward flight, through its sinking moments of occasional despondency, it would be sad indeed to linger upon the last lineaments of the departed object of our affection and esteem, the features so lately beaming with animation and intelligence, the head so lately full of important knowledge, and fervid with the glowing operations of genius and intellect, the heart just beating with the most ardent pulsations of parental love and patriotic zeal, now silent and insensible, about to be reduced to the cold clods of the valley. Yet there is still something in the circumstances of this mournful public and domestic deprivation to produce a deep, a lasting and wholesome impression.

> The memory
> Of our dying friends comes o'er us like a cloud,
> To damp our brainless ardor, and abate
> That glare of life that often blinds the wise.

Mrs. Deane survived her husband and resided at the homestead on State street, Portland (with the exception of about a year, 1869-70, spent with her sons, Llewellyn and William, in Washington, D. C.), till the day of her death, May 12, 1872. Her remains were interred by the side of her husband in the Western cemetery in Portland. They were the parents of eleven children — two died in infancy, two daughters when comparatively young; John was lost at sea in 1836, while on a voyage as supercargo of his brig to South America. Six sons survived him, all of whom grew up to men's estate.

Joseph became a lawyer, lived awhile in Cherryfield, looking after the landed interests of his father's estate; then practiced law in Taunton, and later in Quincy, Illinois, where he died in July, 1869.

Melvin was a civil engineer; in his youth he accompanied his father, in 1838, on his last excursion to the northeastern part of the state. He was engaged in the construction of several railroads, the Atlantic & St. Lawrence, the Androscoggin & Kennebec, and others. He was city engineer of Portland in 1853-54, and died there in March, 1854.

Henry graduated at Bowdoin in 1844, and became a lawyer —represented Portland in the legislature of 1850-51, was county attorney for Cumberland county 1852-55, and later was solicitor for the city of Portland—and afterward, 1868-70, surveyor in the custom house. He died in Boston, March, 1873, on his way home from Florida.

Frederick graduated at Bowdoin in the class of 1846, and became a lawyer — but never entered on the practice, as the gold excitement of those days bore him away to California, where he lived, with the interval of a short visit home, till 1861, when he entered the volunteer service and was an officer of the first California volunteers. At a later period he was in the thirtieth Maine regiment — after some service he was duly commissioned an officer, but the war closed before he was mustered in. He died at sea in March, 1867, while returning to California.

Llewellyn graduated at Bowdoin in 1849 — became a lawyer and practiced in partnership with Henry in Portland from 1852 to 1861. In 1858 he represented Portland to the legislature. In 1861 he moved to Washington, where he subsequently held an important position in the U. S. patent office. In 1873, he resigned his official position and has since practiced law in that city.

William Wallace became a lawyer and settled in Saccarappa — in 1861 he joined the twelfth Maine infantry and afterward became adjutant of the regiment. In 1863 he was appointed assistant adjutant general of volunteers, with rank of captain, and at the close of the war was brevetted lieutenant colonel in that branch of the service. In 1867 he was appointed lieutenant in the regular army; he died in July, 1870, in Washington, D. C.

Melvin's son John, while a mere lad, enlisted in the sixth Maine battery and later became lieutenant thereof. He was in active service from the date of his enlistment in 1862, to the close of the war and was never hurt in battle, though in every fight where his battery was engaged, and was never in the hospital during his entire service. He engaged in the paper manufacturing business after the war and died in Denver, Colorado, in the fall of 1873. No doubt the toil, duties and excitement of his war life hastened his end.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 25, 1881.

At the evening session a paper on the fight at Piggwackett was read by James P. Baxter, and Edward H. Elwell read a paper on the White Hills of New Hampshire.

FIELD DAY EXCURSION.

September 13—15, 1881.

By the courtesy of the secretary of the United States treasury and the kind invitation of Hon. Lot M. Morrill, the collector of the port, members of the society with guests made an excursion to Thomaston and Pemaquid by the revenue steamer Dallas.

November 16, 1881.

The Society met in the library at the city building, Portland, November 16, 1881, at 2.30 P.M., the president, Hon. James W. Bradbury in the chair.

The librarian and cabinet-keeper, H. W. Bryant, read his report of the accessions to the library and cabinet received since the July meeting.

A report of the field day meeting at Thomaston and Pemaquid was made by the Rev. Henry S. Burrage, who also read a paper on Rosier's relation of Waymouth's voyage of 1605, with some account of Georges river and Pentecost harbor.

A memoir of General Henry Knox was read by Joseph Williamson.

A committee from all parts of the state was appointed to collect books, pamphlets, manuscript, relics and other material

relating to the history of the state, to be deposited in the archives of the Society.

At the evening session, Hon. James W. Bradbury read a memoir of the late associate justice, Nathan Clifford, and Hon. William Goold read a biographical sketch of General Lafayette with personal recollections of Lafayette's visit to Portland in 1825.

February 27, 1882.

Pursuant to the call signed by Messrs. Elwell, Goold, Burrage, Brown and Bryant, a special meeting was held to do honor to the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow on his seventy-fifth birthday. The opening address was made by the vice president, Hon. William G. Barrows. Mr. James P. Baxter read a poem "Laus Laureati," and placed a chaplet of oak leaves upon the bust of the poet. Rev. Henry S. Burrage followed with a paper on Henry W. Longfellow and his paternal ancestry. Hon. William Goold read a paper on General Peleg Wadsworth, the maternal grandfather of Longfellow, and Mr. Edward H. Elwell read a paper on the Portland of Longfellow's youth. Rev. Prof. A. S. Parkard read a paper on Longfellow as a student and professor of Bowdoin college. Mr. George F. Talbot followed with a paper on the genius of Longfellow. Tributes were received from Hon. James W. Bradbury, Hon. Israel Washburn, jr., and Hon. Joseph Williamson.

May 25, 1882.

Meeting of the Society held at its rooms in Portland.

In the absence of the president, Hon. Israel Washburn, jr., presided. The librarian presented his quarterly report of gifts to the Society's library and cabinet.

Rufus K. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset, called the attention of the Society to the archives of Spain as probably containing some documents of interest to writers of Maine history.

Hon. Joseph Williamson read a tribute to the memory of General John Sullivan of the revolution.

A paper by Hon. Albert W. Paine of Bangor, on the Territorial History of Bangor and Vicinity was read by Mr. Washburn.

EVENING SESSION.

Presentation of the banner borne by citizens of Portland at the railroad celebration in Montreal, in 1853, to commemorate the completion of the railroad connecting the river St. Lawrence and the navigable waters of the Atlantic ocean at Portland, also the banner of the Portland Rifle Corps, 1811–61, both from Edward M. Patten, Esq., now of San Francisco. Historical papers concerning the railroad celebration and the Portland Rifle Corps were read by Hon. William Goold. Mr. Goold also read an account from an English newspaper of the recent restoration of the Gorges family tomb in the parish church of St. Budeaux, Wraxhall, Devon, England. The fund for the restoration of the venerable monument was contributed to by the Maine Historical Society in 1877.

Mr. Goold was followed by Mr. Sewall of Wiscasset, who read a paper on Samoset of Plymouth. A letter from President Bradbury giving some reminiscences of the poet Longfellow's college life was read, and Mr. Bryant, the librarian, offered a brief tribute to the memory of the poet as a lover of books.

George F. Talbot for the committee reported the following resolutions, commemorative of the poet Longfellow, which were accepted and ordered recorded: —

Resolved, That the Maine Historical Society, honored in counting among its members the illustrious poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, lately deceased, desire to join their fellow countrymen everywhere in paying their tribute of gratitude and admiration for those productions of his genius which have made his name immortal.

Resolved, That while death has removed from association with living men his revered presence, and so far as can be seen, has arrested that assiduous labor which has so enriched the pages of permanent literature, it has extended his fame and brought to millions who had not known him, an appreciation of the nobility of his nature and the purity of his life.

Resolved, That the Society whose office it is to cherish the memory of the men of Maine who in literature, science, politics, war, business enterprise, and the inventive arts, have shed luster upon our history, acknowledge the indebtedness of our citizens to Longfellow for the honor his long and brilliant career in the highest departments of creative art has conferred upon our country, and especially upon our state that gave him birth.

Resolved, That the Society be requested to communicate, with a copy of these resolutions, the respectful sympathy of this Society to the family of the distinguished deceased.

The resolutions were adopted and the meeting adjourned.

Annual Meeting, July 14, 1882.

The annual meeting of the Society was held at Adams Hall, Brunswick, and was called to order at 8.30 A.M., by the president, Hon. James W. Bradbury.

The record of the last annual meeting was read by the recording secretary and approved with a slight modification.

The annual reports of the librarian and cabinet-keeper, the corresponding secretary, the treasurer and the standing committee were read and accepted.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: —

President, James W. Bradbury of Augusta.

Vice-president, William G. Barrows of Brunswick.

Corresponding secretary, William Goold of Windham.

Treasurer, Lewis Pierce of Portland.

Recording secretary, librarian and cabinet keeper,
H. W. Bryant of Portland.

Standing committee,
Israel Washburn, jr., of Portland.
Rufus K. Sewall of Wiscasset.
William B. Lapham of Augusta.
Edward H. Elwell of Deering.
William Goold of Windham.
Stephen J. Young of Brunswick.
Joseph Williamson of Belfast.

The following were elected resident members: Oscar Holway of Augusta, Joseph W. Symonds of Portland, Henry C. Levensaler of Thomaston, Asa Dalton of Portland, Wakefield G. Frye of Belfast, Prentice C. Manning of Portland, Stephen Berry of Portland.

The following were elected corresponding members: Hon. Elihu B. Washburne of Chicago, Hon. Horatio Bridge of Washington, Hon. John Wentworth of Chicago, John N. McClintock

of Concord, N. H., Frederick C. Pierce of Rockford, Ill., Henry Phillips, jr., of Philadelphia, Rev. Anson Titus, jr., of South Weymouth, Mass., John F. Pratt, M.D., of Chelsea, Hon. Dexter A. Hawkins of New York, Rev. Benjamin F. De Costa of New York, Prof. Sidney Colvin of Cambridge, England, Edmund M. Barton of Worcester, Mass., Rev. Samuel Longfellow of Cambridge, Mass., George Warren Hammond of Boston.

The use of a steam yacht was tendered to the Society for their field day excursion by Robert H. Gardiner, Esq., and Messrs. Gardiner, Burrage and Gilman were appointed a committee to make arrangements for the field day.

On motion of Mr. William Goold of Windham, it was voted that the Society hold a meeting in Portland on the twenty-third day of December next, to congratulate our revered associate, the Rev. Alpheus S. Packard, D.D., on the attainment of his eighty-fourth birthday.

The following were appointed a committee of arrangements: Israel Washburn, jr., William Goold, Stephen J. Young, Edward H. Elwell.

The proposition to adopt sundry amendments to the by-laws was brought up, and after some discussion the amendments were postponed for consideration at the next annual meeting.

Adjourned.

December 23, 1882.

The winter meeting was held at the rooms of the Society December 23, 1882.

At the afternoon session Professor F. W. Putnam of Cambridge delivered an address on the shell heaps of Maine, and displayed specimens of ancient bone and stone implements taken from the heaps, many of which appeared to be identical with specimens found in the shell heaps of Europe. A paper on the noun of the Abnaki grammar was read by the Rev. M. C. O'Brien of Bangor, which was followed by a paper on Thomas Chute, an early settler of Windham, Maine, by Mr. William Goold. Mr.

Edward H. Elwell then read a biographical sketch of our poet-governor, Enoch Lincoln, with extracts from his poem entitled "The Village."

Mr. John T. Hull presented a memorial on the early records of Maine, which was referred to a committee consisting of James P. Baxter, William Goold and Edward H. Elwell.

HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

THE Machias Union, of January 14, 1890, has a paper, apparently prepared by its editor, Mr. George W. Drisko, of considerable local and general interest, from which some excerpts are copied below.

MACHIAS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

"IN less than forty years after the battle of the 'Margaretta' British uniforms and muskets made a second appearance in Machias. Like most all towns, not excepting Portland, Boston, and even Washington, Machias was obliged to surrender; the flag came down. There was no discredit in this to the citizens; it was a choice, this or a conflagration. The British troops landed at or near Bucks harbor, came ashore in small boats from the two or three war vessels, marched, following the road near as they could, to Machias. The fort at Machiasport, held by a very small garrison of militia, was completely surprised.

"Colonel Jeremiah O'Brien who fought the 'Margaretta,' and with his neighbors won the battle, was decided in his opinion of resistance: 'Have a force of militia,' he said, 'go out and meet the advancing foe on the Port road and turn them back or kill them!' Fortunately for Machias different counsels prevailed and no battle was fought, very little or no property destroyed. O'Brien, when it was decided to show no resistance, being in his saddle near the custom house, turned his old white horse, struck a gallop toward his house and did not make his appearance while the British officers remained in town."

The ease with which the British invasion of Eastern Maine, in the war of 1812, overcame all the feeble resistance the two frontier counties made, the fact that British forces occupied Eastport, Machias, and the strong fort at Castine, during the greater part of the war, might have cost Maine a large slice of her territory, had not the fortunes of battle been more favorable to our country elsewhere, and especially upon the ocean. It would have been a fine opportunity to have gotten by the terms of a treaty of peace that portion of Maine, proved afterward so essential to the military defense and commercial development of the British provinces in North America, that England afterward did get by persistent claim, and by the superior finesse of her negotiators.

But the war left our adversary no pretext for claiming any cession of territory; and she would hardly have wished to incorporate among her loyal subjects such sturdy rebels as those who had captured the "Margaretta," and repulsed the attack made in 1777 upon the settlement of Machias; and we owe it more to the memory of the old spirit rather than the exhibition of the later spirit, that our boundary in the negotiations of 1815 did not get established at the Penobscot river.

FRAGMENTS OF HISTORY.

"SOMETIME about 1800 Albert Gallatin, a Scotchman perhaps, a foreigner, landed at St. John, made his way through the woods via Calais to Machias, and spent several weeks in town, his home mainly being in the family of Jeremiah O'Brien, son of Morris of earlier fame. While in O'Brien's house he fell sick, and Mrs. O'Brien, as indeed all the family, cared for him. Gallatin made his way on to New York. Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated the third president in 1801, and in selecting his cabinet, he made Gallatin secretary of the treasury. Shortly afterward Jeremiah O'Brien received a commission as collector of customs for the port of Machias, accompanied by a private letter by the secretary, giving as a reason for the courtesy as well as the 'honor here conferred,' the kind hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. O'Brien a few years before! Bread cast upon the waters! The custom house was then kept in Captain Smith's long shed before mentioned, already famous in local history."

Albert Gallatin, Mr. Jefferson's able secretary of the treasury, and whose financial reputation in our country is second only to that of Alexander Hamilton, like Hamilton, was of foreign birth. He was born in Geneva in 1761, and his family, though belonging to the nobility for many generations, had been distinguished in Switzerland for their republican sentiments. When the French revolution came they welcomed it with sympathy.

Albert Gallatin himself, having been required after his graduation from college, by his grand parents — he was an orphan — to enter the army of the landgrave of Hesse, ran away from Geneva and secretly embarked for America. The statement of Mr. Drisko, that he tarried awhile at Machias, is undoubtedly correct. The course of trade after the revolutionary war brought many English merchant ships, which at that time were also the only packet ships carrying passengers, to St. John. It was in 1780 however and not about 1800.

The fact that he spent the first winter after his arrival in the United States "in the wilds of Maine," as told in his biography, and the circumstance also therein told, that he engaged in certain land speculations, which in the end made him penniless and sent him first to Boston, and ultimately to Pennsylvania, where he settled and became a citizen, makes it probable that his land journey through the magnificent Maine wilderness in 1780, from St. John to Boston, gave him exaggerated ideas, as it did many other visitors, of the great value of our forests. He found, like most amateurs at lumbering, that it takes the hard practical sense of Maine men to turn this natural wealth into dollars and cents.

"TALLEYRAND, the French exile, banished for his patriotic sentiments, about 1798 visited Machias. The house (Bruce homestead then) where the distinguished diplomat lodged is still standing, if not on the same lot, latterly known as the Doctor Wetherbee house. Before Bruce lived in this house Joseph White, who came from Salem, Massachusetts, occupied it a few years with his family and then returned to Salem. In 1830 the terrible murder took place in Salem, Joseph White being the victim, although our local historian says he was a son of the White who lived in Machias. Joseph and Francis Knapp and Richard Crowninshield were the alleged murderers. Daniel Webster, then in the zenith of his popularity as a legal advocate, was one of the counsel in the trial which lasted several days and attracted attention not only in this country but Europe.

"James Gordon Bennett, who afterward founded the 'New York Herald,' tarried one night in Machias. The same winter he, Bennett, taught a term of school in Steuben, the western town in Washington county."

Talleyrand was an ecclesiastic of high rank in the Roman Catholic hierarchy of France. He had been created an abbé through the favor of the infamous Madame du Barry, and made bishop of Autun in spite of his open immoralities, in fulfillment of a promise by the king to his father on his deathbed. But it is as an able diplomatist, and as a master of political intrigue, as well as by the levity with which all his convictions, political, moral and religious, sat upon, whereby he was able to keep himself in favor first with the king and the old regime, then with the Revolution, then with Napoleon, and finally with the Restoration, and to die quietly in his bed surrounded by his admirers at the age of eighty-four, when so many of his clerical brethren and political

associates had spent their lives in exile, or perished under the stroke of the guillotine, that he is best known in history.

He was not "banished" to America "for his patriotic sentiments," for he never had any sentiments that were permanent, and was not a man to suffer any inconvenience on account of his convictions. The political changes between 1792 and 1794 — the very crisis of the revolution — were so rapid that with the best intentions the nimble ecclesiastic could not quite keep up with them. Having been sent as ambassador to England by Louis XVI, the former year, he prudently spent most of the dangerous years. when the click of *la guillotine* in Paris affected nervous people unpleasantly, engaged in political and statistical writing and publication. He would have prolonged his stay in England but that the convention had issued a decree against him as an aristocrat, an *emigrè* and public enemy, and the British ministry had set in operation against him the provisions of their Alien Act. He sailed for the United States in January, 1794, furnished with a letter to Lord Lansdowne, British minister at Washington.

Louis Philippe, afterward citizen king of France, accompanied Talleyrand on his voyage to the United States. It is probable that these distinguished visitors, like Gallatin before them, landed at St. John, New Brunswick, and thence made their way partly by land into and through the United States.

There was no road in 1794 between Eastport, then a small frontier settlement, and Machias, an ante-revolutionary colony; and the mode of communication was up some of the numerous arms of the Passamaquoddy Bay, turbulent with tides, and barred by rocks which became cataracts with the in and outflow of the sea, across carrying-places to a chain of lakes with connecting streams flowing into the Machias river. Birch canoes were the packet vessels, and the Quoddy Indians the skillful pilots and *voyageurs*.

I have often heard my father narrate that traveling by that route the French exiles, destined to fill so large a place in European history, came with their Indian guides to the house of one David Gardner, a Nantucket Quaker, who had found his way from Massachusetts into the eastern wilderness, and built a saw mill on the outlet of Gardners lake, named for him, at the point where the longest carry separates the waters

flowing into Passamaquoddy bay from those flowing into the Machias river.

It was noon of a hot, mid-summer day, and the travelers turned in at Gardner's house, weary and hungry, and asked for dinner. It was after the scant crops of the preceding year had been consumed, and before the late crop of the year was ready for consumption; and though Friend Gardner lived generally rather better than his poor neighbors, his prudent wife, much doubtless to her chagrin, had no "daintier dish to set before a king," than boiled greens without meat, bread, or other vegetables. Such as it was, a Quaker welcome went with it, and the exiles magaged to "stay their stomachs" until at Machias, at the inn of Captain Ellis, or under the free hospitality of Judge Jones, it is to be hoped they found more substantial fare.

We gather the following historical item from a recent number of the Eastern Argus.

AN INTERESTING LETTER.

"We have been permitted to copy the following interesting letter now in a good state of preservation, written by Sir William Pepperrell of Kittery to Judge Hill of Berwick, and now in possession of N. J. Herrick, Esq. The letter as will be seen, was written one hundred and forty-six years ago, just previous to Pepperrell's departure on the famous Louisburg expedition in which he achieved the highest distinction as a military commander."

KITTERY, February 21, 1744.

Dear Sr.

The day Last past I heard that Capt. Butler had Enlisted in Berwick his fifty brave Soldr's this News was Like a Cordial to me to hear that Berwick Brother to Kittery my own Native Town has such a brave English Spirit. I received Last night a Letter from ye Honor'ble Committee of Warr who write that they tho't there was upon our making up five or six Companys of our brave County of York men ye full number that was propo'd are Enlis'd & more so that there will be a number Clear'd off, but you may assure Your Selfe that our brave County of York men Shall not be Clear'd off without they desire it.

Speak to Capt. Butler to hasten down here for I have some Inlisting money Sent me for him. I am sorry that some of your Commission officers in Your Town Seem to be uneasy because they had not had ye offer of a Commission in this Expedition; I understood you Spoke to them; did they Expect that at this time I should have wait'd on them, I

think if they had ye Least inclination to have gone I think it was Duty they owed to God their King & Country to come and offer their Selves.

My love to yr Lady and all inquiring Friends.

I am Your Affectionate
Friend and Servant,
WM. PEPPERRELL.

I dont doubt in ye Least but the Commission Officers in Berwick are Brave good men as any in this Province and would willingly Venture their Lives with their Coll. and I believe that nothing would now hinder them but their business in going on ye inten'd Expedition, therefore I excuse them willingly; please to tell them all I Sincerely Value and Love them, and that if there should be occation for forces to be Sent after us I dont doubt in ye least but they will be reddy to come when their business is over. I begg all their prayers.

Dear Brother I wish you well.

W. P.

[Addressed.]

On His Majs'tys Service
To the Honor'ble John Hill
Esqr Att Berwick."

We are confident that our readers who have read with interest the pleasant brief biography of his distinguished father, the late John Gilmore Deane, by his son Llewellyn Deane, Esq., of Washington, D. C., among the collections of the present number, and have enjoyed the bits of local history and the delineations of some famous personal characters who made up the somewhat unique and peculiar society of the earlier period of the present century, will be glad to have that paper supplemented by other documents relating to the same history and the same character.

We copy from a pamphlet prepared by the author of the biography above referred to the chapter from the Deane Genealogy, also some extracts from letters written by Mr. Deane to his wife before their marriage, descriptive of the eastern country, its people, and his adventures among them, and a charming letter from Mrs. C. J. Milliken of Boston, in May, 1885, descriptive of old times in Ellsworth.

A CHAPTER FROM THE DEANE GENEALOGY.

The Deane Side.

Family of Joseph Deane of Raynham, Massachusetts, fifth in descent from John Deane, who came from England, and, with his brother Walter, was one of the pioneer settlers of Taunton, Massachusetts.

Joseph Deane was born in Raynham, November 20, 1753, and died February 16, 1837.

He married January 10, 1783, Mary, daughter of Capt. John Gilmore, who was born May 18, 1760, and died May 10, 1837, a few months after her husband's death.

Their children, all born in Raynham, Massachusetts, were : —

John Gilmore, born March 27, 1785; died in Cherryfield, Maine, November 10, 1839.

Mary, born September 25, 1790; died August 10, 1820; married Abiezer Dean of Taunton, Massachusetts, leaving two children, Joseph Albert and Elizabeth Hall.

Joseph Augustus, born June 25, 1802; died in Ellsworth, Maine, May 4, 1873; married Eliza, daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Fales of Taunton, August 17, 1830; they had three children. Mary Agnes, died October 6, 1862; Sabra W. (now Mrs. Amory Otis), and John G., died June 17, 1841.

The Padelford Side.

Children of Seth Padelford and Rebecca, his wife, all born in Taunton, Massachusetts.

Seth Padelford of Taunton, Massachusetts, born December 7, 1751; died January 3, 1810; married, June 1, 1777, Rebecca Dennis, who was born December 8, 1756, and died March 16, 1822.

Their children were: —

Polly Dennis, born April 13, 1778; married Mason Shaw of Bangor, Maine; died May 19, 1805.

Ezekiel D., born September 23, 1779; died October 27, 1779.

Sally Kirby, born October 27, 1780; married Nathaniel Fales of Taunton, Massachusetts; died at Quincy, Illinois, November 26, 1858.

Melinda, born February 14, 1782; married Enoch Brown of Hampden, Massachusetts; died January 23, 1836.

John, born May 1, 1783; died June 29, 1801.

Charles, born January 12, 1785; died February 21, 1785.

Nancy, born March 14, 1786; married Samuel E. Cooke of Tiverton, Rhode Island; died October 21, 1817.

Harry, born September 29, 1787; married Susan Crosman of Taunton, Massachusetts; died in New York about 1850.

Rebecca, born 1789; died 1791.

Rebecca Dennis who married John G. Deane.

Caroline, born 1794; died 1796.

Francis, born 1796; died 1798.

Our Own Family.

Children of John G. Deane and Rebecca, his wife, all born in Ellsworth, Maine.

Seth Padelford, born August 3, 1814; died August 21, 1814.

John, born November 14, 1815; lost at sea November, 1836.

Joseph P., born September 29, 1817; died at Quincy, Illinois, August 19, 1869; married Eleanor S. Reed of Taunton, Massachusetts, January 27, 1842.

Mary, born October 8, 1818 ; died at Portland, May 14, 1839.

Rebecca Padelford, born March 31, 1820 ; died at Ellsworth, August 7, 1833.

Melvin Gilmore, born November 16, 1821 ; died at Portland, March 21, 1854 ; married Sarah E. Shepherd, of Bristol, Rhode Island, August 9, 1843, who died May 18, 1847; and Harriet Ann Thurston of Winthrop, Maine, October 12, 1848.

Henry Padelford, born October 9, 1823; died at the Revere House, Boston, en route from Florida to Portland, March 25, 1873; married Annie E. Morse, of Brunswick, Maine, March 23, 1848.

Frederick Augustus, born September 17, 1825; died at sea, on ship "Majestic," en route to California, March 16, 1867.

Llewellyn, born September 17, 1827, died March, 1828.

Llewellyn, born April 23, 1829; married Mrs. L. E. Ricks of Washington, D. C., August 29, 1871.

William Wallace, born August 2, 1832 ; died at Washington, D. C., July 21, 1870; married Abbie Edwards of Saccarappa, Maine, May 14, 1868.

Extracts from Mr Deane's Letters to Miss Rebecca D. Padelford (Afterward his Wife).

The postage on the single letters was twenty cents.

He sailed from Boston Thursday, September 21, 1809, for Ellsworth, and reached the mouth of Union river the Saturday following. He writes Monday, September 25, 1809, from Ellsworth : —

"When we arrived at the head of the bay the tide did not suit for passing the bar, therefore I requested the Captain to set me ashore. I was landed in the town of Surry, two miles from Ellsworth. After traveling nearly a mile on an unconscionable road, I was surprised at finding one nearly as good as roads in general in and about Taunton. The people bear no sort of resemblance to the natural appearance of the country. They have treated me, so far, with great attention. I took coffee last evening with Mr. Herbert, and found him an intelligent, learned and social man ; and was much pleased with Mrs. Herbert, she is a very chatty lady. . . . I attended meeting yesterday, and was very agreeably entertained by their minister, Mr. Brewer, who was sent to this place by a missionary society ; from his sermons I should judge him to be a man

of more than ordinary promise. I have found a room for an office, and a place to lay my head. The boarding-house is the best in this part of the country; it is kept by Mr. Sawyer. Mr. Brewer boards here, and a doctor and schoolmaster. I calculate on having a very social time. Mr. Black was here to-day. To-morrow I shall visit the Penobscot country, and shall undoubtedly call on Mr. Brown. It is necessary for me to go to Castine to procure some blanks before I can commence business in this place. . . . The Western mail arrives here on Tuesday evening, and goes out on Monday evening or Tuesday morning. If you put your letters in Taunton post-office on Monday, I shall receive them the Sunday following."

"Ellsworth, Oct. 3, 1809, . . . I concluded to take a tour to see of what material the country was made, as well as to see if I could find a more eligible situation. The first six miles were tolerable; the next seven ran through a wilderness, and I saw not a human being in that distance. Then I came to Bluehill, a large and pleasant town for this country. The road was good through that town. The next two miles were bad, beyond all description; then the road grew more and more pleasant, until I arrived at Buckstown, a very pleasant village." From thence he proceeded to Hampden, to visit Mr. and Mrs. Brown (Melinda Padelford).

"The second day after my arrival, by the aid of Mr. B., I became acquainted with General Ulmer. The General recommended Lincolnville to me, and made some very fair offers if I should see cause to settle there. His offer was to take me into his family to board, and would give me business enough to pay my board. But previous to any positive determination on my part, the General very politely invited me to visit him at his house in Lincolnville. I consented. Lincolnville is on the west side of Penobscot bay, thirty-five miles below Hampden. Friday last I started from Hampden for Castine; three miles from Castine I found Major Langdon of Ellsworth, and sent my horse home; traveled on foot to Castine; found General Ulmer there; spent the evening with him and several gentlemen. Early Saturday morning went in quest of a boat to set me across the bay, but I found none that would sail till evening. Some time in the forenoon I went into Judge Nelson's office, procured all necessary blanks, and dined with his honor, and passed four or five hours very sociably; at sunset the boat set sail across the bay, which is about fourteen or fifteen miles wide. Was landed at Northport at little past nine o'clock; it was very rainy, and exceedingly dark; the roads were rough and muddy, but, notwithstanding all these difficulties, I traveled two or three miles till my guide found me a place to lodge.

In the morning I set out for General Ulmer's, who lived five miles distant. I spent Sunday with the General, conversed with the people relative to my settling here, but the prospect was not flattering. . . . Monday morning the General furnished me a horse, to travel to Belfast, but the packet in which I took passage was under way, and I was obliged

to leave the horse one and a half miles from Belfast, near to the shore and hail the packet. I was fortunate in obtaining my passage. My next object was to gain the post road from Ellsworth to Buckstown before the post should pass, but, alas, the attempt was fruitless; I was on foot and had fiteen miles to travel over such a road as your eye never beheld. . . . About 4 o'clock P.M., today, I arrived in Ellsworth. The distance from Castine is about thirty miles; the most of it I traveled on foot. . . . To set out well with the people is an object of the first magnitude. Herbert is extremely popular; he is established, and I cannot succeed if my efforts are not unremitting." . . .

"Oct. 6, 1809. — I have progressed very slowly in preparing my office. I have set up my books, procured one chair, one bench and a table; now am quite ready to begin. My prospects are not flattering. The society of the place is very good, considering all circumstances. I have met none so good in this country, and I believe in but few places in the vicinity of Taunton."

Oct. 16, 1809. — To-day I came near failing to send you a letter. The reason was this: a new carrier brought the mail, who traveled with more expedition than the old one, and I, unapprised of the alteration, had made my calculation of depositing my letter at the usual hour. But, when I found I was too late, I set out and ran half a mile and put the letter into the post's hand; he promised to place it in the mail at Bluehill. . . . I hope to visit Taunton before January. I must go by water; traveling by land is terrible, I have tried it to my satisfation."

"Nov., 1809. — General Ulmer has called on me and again urged me to settle in Lincolnville. As an inducement, he has offered to board me, and do something more for me in the business he will put into my hands. From the first the General has treated me with the greatest politeness, and I feel much indebted to him."

"Nov. 2, 1809, Thursday. — I never witnessed a more pleasant autumn, so far as relates to the weather, since I have been here; we have had but two or three small rains, and those in the night; today it is raining — you can hardly conceive how muddy the roads are; the soil is clayey, and in wet weather a person's feet stick fast."

"Sunday evening, 5th November — I have not seen your letter as I anticipated; I suppose it has arrived, but the post-office is on one side of the river and I am on the other. The bridge has been broken down, but people can pass over its ruins on foot in daylight. The post does not arrive till seven or eight o'clock at night, and it would have been very dangerous to attempt crossing the bridge at night."

"December 12, 1809. — By last mail no letter from you. I console myself that it was not your fault, but more from the following cause: The last mail was soaked through, the contents very wet and much worn; no mail went east of this place; the carrier said he would not have left Bluehill had he known how bad the traveling was. . . . I spent the whole of yesterday afternoon in pursuit of the apples, and obtained a

barrel, on which we all feasted last evening. The vessel brought seventy barrels, and we are to have six. As a reward for my diligence and success my landlady is busy making pies, on which we shall feast this evening. We have had some apples before, occasionally, but they were such as would not be eaten at the Westward. These are really large and excellent. The condition of the poor of this place will not be so wretched this winter, as I apprehended some time ago. Provisions have arrived, and if they will work they can obtain a supply."

December 17. — Yesterday I was again employed in a voyage down the river, to aid Mr. Sawyer in boating up winter stores."

"December 18. — I received, not one, but three letters in the last mail. There was company at our house, so I read only one before going to bed; when the house was still I built a fire and read the others."

"June 27, 1810. — I had an invitation to ride today, but declined. The party consisted of six, all mounted on horseback; they made a very good appearance, but could you see the road you would doubt if they could have a pleasant ride. I have done scarcely anything for past few days, beyond attending to a little military business and some Fourth of July matters."

"June 30. — Strawberries are very thick, and just ripe; strawberries and gooseberries are almost the only fruit this country produces, and they are very nice. Our company have agreed on their uniform, which is a red coat trimmed up with black, white waistcoat and pantaloons trimmed with red cord, black gaiters, and caps like the Raynham company, or hats in form of officers' hats, with feathers."

"Sunday. — We trained last night till dark, and I was tired enough to go home and go to bed. I have not one spark of military enthusiasm — not enough to make this business the slightest amusement."

"Thursday, July 5, 1810. — Last Monday night I went to Frenchman's bay, and was all night on the water in an open boat; returned Thursday, had a fair wind; sailed the boat by the assistance of slabs. We appeared more like Indians than civilized beings. The voyage, on the whole, was not unpleasant, though I was goaded by flies and mosquitoes and exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. You may wish to know what induced me to take this voyage of seventeen or eighteen miles; it was only to procure a field-piece for the Fourth of July. Yesterday we had as pleasant a time as could be expected in this place; indeed, it far exceeded my expectations; nearly sixty dined at one table. Our amusements were training, discharging our muskets, bowling, drinking, etc., etc., and conversation. There was a ball in the evening; I went to it, but only staid a short time. Today four of us went into the field and picked nearly a peck of strawberries; in places the surface of the ground was almost red with them."

I have above quoted as much as seems to be well from these, to me, most interesting and vivid letters. In places in them my father describes his first boarding-house. It was kept by Mr. Sawyer, "a clever and industrious man; he likes good living and good cheer; he came from Reading, Massachusetts." But it is evident that, so far as the management of household affairs, Mrs. Sawyer was the chief personage. She is described as an "intelligent and, considering her opportunities, a superior woman." There were also at the same house "Mrs. Captain Peters; her husband resided in Boston." Mrs. Peters "has a fine little boy, named Alexander Hamilton Peters, with whom I frequently amuse myself. A missionary preacher, John Brewer by name, boards here; he is an intelligent, social and well informed young men. He has been a great traveler, and frequently amuses us by narrations of his adventures. He has traveled by land and by water, horseback and on foot; he has been everywhere, and seen everything; as a preacher, he holds high rank and is very popular with the people of this place. He will continue here but three weeks more; I am sure I shall miss him, and regret his absence. The physician of the place boards here; he is a clever young man; but the place is very healthy, therefore the people can dispense with a physician of the first rank. The schoolmaster is likewise a boarder."

Mention is also made of occasional calls on Squire Herbert, who was at one time very sick; also of visits to Colonel Jordan's; also of Mr. Jones and his family, the female members of which are spoken of as very well educated; also of his acquaintance with Captain Black. I suppose this to be John Black, and that his title of Captain was derived from his position in the Cobb Light Infantry, the military company, probably, referred to in the foregoing extracts, and, I think, named after General Cobb, who had large landed possessions in the vicinity of Ellsworth. He came from Massachusetts, and Captain Black married his daughter.

Letter from Mrs. Milliken.

I wrote Mrs. J. C. Milliken of Boston, Massachusetts, for the temporary loan of a manuscript history of Ellsworth, written by her kinswoman, Mrs. Martha Jellison. Mrs. Milliken very kindly sent me the following copy of the mention made therin by the author:—

"In 1811 John G. Deane, from Raynham, Massachusetts, established himself in Ellsworth as attorney-at-law. He married Rebecca, daughter of Judge Padelford of Taunton, Massachusetts. Mr. Deane followed the legal profession until he was the father of a large family. He then made some profitable investments which enabled him to move to Portland.

"Mr. Deane was respected by all classes of society as a man who conscientiously discharged the business entrusted to him. He was a kind husband, an affectionate father, and a good neighbor."

And then Mrs. Milliken adds the following notes by herself, which contain so many interesting and valuable facts that I take the liberty to print them here.

"BOSTON, MAY 31, 1885.

"MY DEAR MR. DEANE :—

. . . . . .

"Ellsworth must have been a very crude little town in 1811, although it was settled as early as 1773. Its only means of communication with the world was by water, the voyage to Boston often taking several weeks. There was a road to Castine at an early date after the settlement, but the road to Bangor was not built until 1815, that to Bucksport in 1812, and there was no better way through the eastern wilderness than a hunter's and lumberer's path until much later. For years there was one mail west each week, carried on horseback through Surry and Bluehill to Bucksport, the postboy fording the creeks.

"The wealth was for years exclusively in lumber, the inhabitants finding it more profitable to send their lumber west in exchange for supplies.

"My great grandfather, who was the original settler and owner of a large part of the town, and who, being a loyalist, went off with the English troops from Castine, built the first mills and vessels, and brought with him a superior class of men from Scarboro and Spurwink. Early in 1800 (I think) Colonel Black came with a Mr. Williams as agent for the great Bingham purchase, which comprised many townships. About the same time the Jarvis family came to improve their tract of timber, called the 'Jarvis Gore,' and settled in Surry, where they built a fine house. You may remember that Leonard Jarvis represented the district in Congress.

"The Otises came from Boston as agents for the property that afterward bore their name. I think they were not owners. General Cobb's grant of land for military service was in Sullivan, and when he came to live on it the Sargents of Boston, came as neighbors. Mary Cobb became Mrs. Black, and Katharine Sargent, Mrs. Jones, or Madame Jones, as I knew her.

"These families, though they lived at some distance, constituted a more cultivated society than many of the pioneer towns could boast, and the more cultured of the earlier settlers gathered about them. As late as I can remember there was a superior tone to the society.

"The only religious worship before 1812 was irregular, there being no church organization and no clergyman of repute. In 1811 Mr. Nourse of Bolton, Massachusetts, was settled as pastor and schoolmaster, the two offices having always been united. In 1812 the first church was organized, and the system of education, which made a complete revolution in the whole district. No more enthusiastic or self-denying teacher ever lived than Parson Nourse, and the town owed more to him than to any other of its citizens.

"As lumbering was the principal business, all other was subsidiary to it. There had been several 'traders' before Edward D. Peters, and Major Pond, who afterward moved to Boston. I think that Andrew Peters came from Bluehill about the time that your father came, and Jesse Dutton (father of the Deacon), who succeeded him in business. They had the usual variety stores that we all associate with country places. The Blacks only supplied the families of their own lumbermen and the men who took up farms on the Bingham lands.

"I think there was but one lawyer in town before your father — George Herbert. Judge Hathaway followed soon after. For a long time the only physician was Dr. Peck, whose lumbering figure and generous powders you may remember. The old revolutionary pensioner in breeches and cue, of whom you speak in your article, I remember; I think he had no friends in town, and I cannot remember his name.

"There were more than the usual number of 'characters' in Ellsworth, and it has always seemed a pity that some one at that early time should not have 'made a note' of them. Your mother, with her wonderful facility of language, could have done it admirably.

"I remember the great respect in which your father was held, both in Ellsworth and Cherryfield. He was a great loss to the town, which needed just such wise and liberal men to offset the smaller race of traders that were coming up. I copy on the opposite page the short notice of him found in the manuscript, and I am sorry that I can do you no better service.

"Very sincerely,

"C. J. MILLIKEN."

A CENTURY OF EXISTENCE.

AT the January meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society — the oldest association of the kind in America, Dr. George E. Ellis the president said: — "We are brought very near to, if we have not already reached, the date in time which will mark the completion of a century of the existence and activity of this society — the first in our country to lead the succession of the numerous and generally efficient and prosperous societies of like purposes in our states, cities, counties, districts, towns and villages. An interesting question at once presents itself, as to the precise date of our nativity, from which we are to begin our reckoning. Usage and recognized precedent have established the rule that the life of a chartered or incorporated society, intended for perpetuity, begins with its authoritative official sanction. Yet it is a well-known fact that very many schemes have been in active existence, and many associations and fellowships for a great variety of purposes have had organizations and meetings of members before charter and seal gave them incorporation. The Royal Society of London received its charter from Charles II, in 1661. But for at least a score of years previously the scholars, savants and philosophers, who asked for and ob-

tained that charter, with seal and mace, had held their meetings and conferences, and had been gathering materials to promote in the same way the same objects which received the royal sanction. Our own now venerable and honored university — still poor and suppliant with its flood of wealth — dates its life from September, 1636, because the General Court of the colony then recorded its purpose to plant and foster a college among the stumps in a patch of the wilderness in a new town. The court also made a promise of money for the object and designated a committee to take order of it. But none the less the memorial statute on the delta is inscribed "John Harvard, founder, 1638." This earliest and most munificent benefactor was the founder of "Harvard College.' But the date of two years preceding fitly marks the inception of the seminary.

"Following so honored a precedent this society might claim that this year will complete a full century of its existence. Curiously enough the first book plate in some of its earliest volumes bears the inscription, 'Established in 1790.' There was then something 'established' which, soon after, it was thought best to have 'incorporated.' Those are the premises which we have before us for fixing the year of our nativity. And what is the significance of that word 'established'? It means something that is in being, not only in purpose, but in fact. The new-born infant is a reality in a household for watching over and for nutriment, perhaps before its name is decided upon. And that name may have been adopted in the household before it has been formally conferred in a sacred rite. It is, however, noteworthy that the faithful scribes of church and parish records in the mother country and in our early colony times, while very scrupulous in entering the date of baptism, fail to give the date of birth; as if a child's life began on the day when, as the phrase is, it was "christened." About many of our own worthies in whose biography we are interested, as, for instance, of John Harvard, we know the date of baptism, but not of birth.

"Our records satisfactorily explain to us what was meant by the words 'Established in 1790.' The books in which the legend was stamped were not private property, did not belong to individuals, but had passed into the ownership of associates, a fellowship formed of a few gentlemen brought intimately together to advance a common object. They were the same men who afterward sought and obtained a charter for their society. They had been holding meetings, gathering and contributing materials for a common purpose. Later on one of this series of meetings was held at the house of an associate, Judge Tudor, on January 24, 1791. Eight persons were present. They agreed to regard this as their 'first meeting.' It was not because it was the first meeting, but because they then first gave organic form to their association by voting on 'articles for its constitution and government.' Continuing their 'regular' and 'special' meetings, at one of them, on January 29, 1794, a committee was appointed to apply to the legislature for a charter. This

was granted under an act of incorporation passed on February 19. Here again the date of baptism, so to speak, is given more definitely than the date of birth.

"In any recognition, therefore, which we might see fit to make of the completion of our first centennial, we have an alternative for choice of date. Honoring the memory of that little group of cultivated and zealous gentlemen who had found a joint attraction in intelligent historical interests and aims, we may find the origin of our society in their meetings held in 1790. Or we may date from the grant of our formal charter. It is for the members of the society, if the matter has interest for them and if any view should be entertained of recognizing our centennial, to discuss and to dispose of the question."

HISTORICAL NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE CORPORATE LIMITS OF THE CITY OF GEORGEANA AND THE TOWN OF YORK.

HAVING occasion recently, while elaborating a land-title in York to make some investigation of its ancient boundaries, I was surprised at the wide circulation given to erroneous statements of the extent and limits of this township; and as, from the character and official prominence given to one, and the wide circulation of others, these errors are liable to be re-copied and still further disseminated, these notes have been prepared to counteract these mis-statements.

The particular point to which it is desired to direct attention is this: that the great majority of the so-called authorities, that touch upon this point at all, give only twenty-one square miles of territory to the ancient city of Gorgeana, instead of the forty-two square miles it received by its charter from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which were recognized in its re-incorporation as the town of York, by Massachusetts in 1652, and which have, substantially, continued included in its borders to the present day.

To give these erroneous statements in the order of their prominence:

Note by the Commissioner on the sources of land titles in Maine, p. xi, prefixed to the Revised Statutes of Maine (1883).

. . . "and by a second charter dated March 1, 1642, incorporated it, with a territory of twenty-one square miles, into a city called Gorgeana." —(Varney's Gazetteer of Maine (1882), p. 607.)

"Its limits were seven miles inland from the sea by three in breadth; and the Agamenticus (York) river formed its southwestern boundary." —(Emery's Gorgeana and York, (1874), p. 40.)

. . . "he incorporated a territory of twenty-one square miles." . . . —(Sanford, Everts & Co.'s Atlas of York County (1872), p. 114.)

"Her limits were seven miles inland from the sea, by three in breadth, with the Agamenticus (York) river for the southwestern boundary." . . . . . "In 1652, Massachusetts assumed control, the city charter was revoked, the name changed to York, and an incorporation as a town granted, with limits enlarged probably nearly to those now existing."

Such attempts, as this last clause, at manufacturing presumable history cannot be too severely reprehended. By comparison with the extract from the incorporation by Massachusetts, cited from the records, below, it will be seen that this writer leads his reader into supposititious reasoning at direct variance with the facts.

Cf., also (Everts & Peck's History of York County (1880), p. 217.)

Do these writers suppose that Gorges intended by the terms of his charter to exclude from the benefits to be derived therefrom his grandsón for whom he had obtained a large grant (Records of the Council for New England), or his "tenants who hold land upon the river of Acomenticus" (York Deeds, i, Part ii, 6), or alderman, and afterward mayor, Roger Gard and his dwelling-house, all of whom were located upon the south side of the river of York (York Deeds i, 119).

This error was undoubtedly promulgated by some careless interpreter of the Gorges charters of incorporation, and the others have, apparently, blindly followed his lead. Extracts from these charters are reprinted here, to sustain the stand taken by the writer and make it clear to others, from Hazard's Collection of State Papers, wherein they were printed in 1792, as "copies of originals now in possession of Daniel Moulton as clerk for the town of York," viz: (i, 470, the first, or borough charter, 10 April, 1641) . . . . "establishe the Planters and Inhabitants of Acomenticus to continue . . . . by the name . . . . Towne of Acomenticus," . . . . . "the limitts of the said Corporacon which shall extend East West North and South three miles every way distant from the Church Chappell or Oratory belonging to the Plantacon of Acomenticus."

(Id. i, 480, the second, or city charter, 1 March, 1642.) . . . . . "My will is that the same from henceforth bee nominated termed and called by the name of Gorgeana And by that name of Gorgeana the said Circuite Precinctes Lymitt and Places I do . . . . . establishe," &c. . . . . "And doe therefore for mee my heires and assignes graunte ordeyne and establishe that the Circuite of the said Incorporacon within the Province aforesaid shall extend from the beginninge of the entrance in of the River Commonlie called and knowne by the name of Agamenticus and soe vp the said River seaven Englishe Myles, and all alonge the Easte and North East side of the Sea-shore three Englishe Myles, in bredth from the entrance of the said River and vp into the mayne land seaven myles buttinge with the seaven myles from the sea-side vp the said River the bredth of three myles opposite therevnto."

It is incomprehensible how this careless interpreter, who has been primarily responsible for so much subsequent blundering, could have disregarded all the plain indices to Gorges' intent; both the plainly expressed seven miles by three miles on the opposite side of the river; the "Circuite," which plainly indicated the three miles in all directions in the borough charter; and could have supposed that the area of the township would be diminished in an amplification of its privileges; or that Gorges would have left out from participation in the proposed increased benefits his own tenants and adherents on the south side and have conferred these extra city privileges on the north side alone.

For a clear distinction of the difference between a town and a city at that early date, see Coke's Commentary on Littleton, p. 115, cited in Richardson's introduction to York Deeds, i, p. 46 and note; and see

also the context for the best explanation yet given for Gorges' motive in changing the charters of incorporation.

When Massachusetts, in 1652, annulled the city charter of Gorgeana and re-incorporated the place by the name of the town of York, she did not meddle with its ancient boundaries:—

(York Deeds, i, 27). "At a Court holden at a Place called Agamenticus or Gorgeana 22 Novemb^r 1652 by the Comiss^rs of the Generall Court of the Massachusetts." . . . . . "Further we do consent that the Town now called Agamenticus shall be hence forward called Yorke." . . . . . "It is further agreed that the inhabitants of York & Kittery shall set out their Bounds betwixt them & the Inhabitants of Wells & York shall set out their Bounds betwixt them within One Year next ensuing otherwise it shall be done by Comiss^rs appointed by the General Court." These bounds were from Brave-boat Harbor on the West (York Deeds, iii, 58) to the Ogunquit river on the east (Id. iii, 134 & i, part i, 9), and these have been its confines, with a slight change in the eastern line ever since.—Cf. Hon. David Sewall's Topographical Description of York:—Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 S. iii, 6.

It might prove an entertaining pursuit to trace out the originator of this error, as he certainly started it long after Sullivan's and Williamson's time—neither of whom were responsible for such a mistake—and most probably after Coolidge & Mansfield's valuable Description of New England—Maine—(1860), because they were the only authorities to properly set out the boundaries of both town and city and to leave the computation of the areas to the student and investigator; but such pursuit might result in less than is sought to be accomplished by these notes, i. e. to counteract these mis-statements and to prevent their repetition in the future. WM. M. SARGENT.

QUERY—POINT INGLEBY.

In his deed of 1643 to the mayor and commonalty of Gorgeana (York Deeds, iv, 46), Gorges names the point on the south side of the river "Point Ingleby:" Court Records, i, 303, "Country way laid out from the lot called Inglebys Lott from York through the woods to house of Hugh Gunnison at or near mouth of Piscataqua River," sufficiently identify this point as the one formed by Rogers' cove brook.

For what part of the mother country was this so christened?

I am indebted to Mr. James P. Baxter for the following information, from his valuable maps: that North and South Ingleby are hamlets in the county of Lincoln; and the suggestion that as one of the daughters of the Earl of Lincoln married one of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' sons, and as the Countess of Lincoln was much interested in colonization, if these hamlets can be shown to have been parts of the landed possessions of that family, a very plausible conjecture would be quite strongly confirmed.

Any further information bearing on the subject matter of this query is requested. WM. M. SARGENT.

AN ALLEGED DEED BY PRESIDENT DANFORTH TO TRUSTEES OF THE TOWN OF YORK.

At page 114 of Sanford, Everts & Co.'s Atlas of York County (1872), p. 217 of Everts & Peck's History of York County (1880), p. 141 of Emery's Gorgeana and York (1874), p. 607 of Varney's Gazetteer of Maine (1882), the following statement is printed:—

"In 1684 Thomas Danforth in behalf of the governor and council of Massachusetts deeded to Major John Davis, Edward Rishworth, Capt. Job Alcock and Lieut. Abraham Preble, trustees in behalf of the town, all land in town granted to it by Sir F. Gorges, thus giving the town the right to dispose of the commons or ungranted lands as it saw fit. The consideration was that each family was to pay two or three shillings annually to Massachusetts."

The indiscriminate use of the pronoun "it" by the writer of the above, renders this sentence one of the most difficult of apprehension it has been my bad fortune to meet with. I have assumed the writer meant to convey the idea that it was such a deed as President Danforth made to North Yarmouth, Scarborough and Falmouth, 1681–84. But we generally understand that those deeds were given to extinguish the Rigby claim of title, and that such deeds were considered necessary only for such townships as fell within the Plough Patent.—Cf. Williamson's Maine, i, 571 and 574.

It certainly was not necessary for Massachusetts to give such a deed under her extended claim of boundary eastward under her charter of 1628, because she had already passed such rights as she could confer to the townspeople by the incorporation of 1652.

It was not necessary for her to give a quit-claim to any lands granted by Gorges personally (as for instance, Gorges' Neck, York Deeds, iv, 46) because all such prior grants by the proprietor were to be binding upon Massachusetts by the terms of the purchase deed of 1677.

But there is very grave doubt whether there ever was, in fact, any such deed. It is not recorded chronologically; nor is it revealed by a search of the present imperfect index to the deeds still tolerated in use by York County; the present town clerk knows nothing of it; it is not mentioned by either Sullivan or Williamson.

Who ever saw it? Who made the above alleged abstract from it? It is, of course, possible that such a deed was executed to trustees for the town, as alleged, and that it may have been destroyed with the other papers in the Indian raid of 1692, without having gone upon the county records; but, even in that case, it is very peculiar that it was not known to Sullivan or Williamson, or at any rate, not considered worthy of mention by them.

At the present writing the impression prevails in my mind that this is another bit of made-up history by some irresponsible writer, who injudiciously digested Williamson's remarks about the conveyances that

were made, and precipitously assumed that a similar conveyance was necessary in the case of York; and this impression is so strong and well-grounded upon the foregoing reasoning, that it will take the production of the genuine original of such alleged deed to overthrow the presumption against it.

WM. M. SARGENT.

HINTS TO CONTRIBUTORS.

IT was expected by the active members of the Maine Historical Society that the enlarged facilities for the prompt and complete publication, by means of a quarterly volume of its collections and transactions, would stimulate historical research and composition among its greatly increased membership. The experiment thus far has certainly indicated that these expectations will be realized.

While historical study and investigation have been thus somewhat quickened, while the ranks of the workers have been reinforced by the accession from all sections of the state of competent and scholarly men, it may not be inopportune to indicate in some general way how the hoped-for intellectual industry may be most advantageously occupied.

Much has already been done to make clearer the facts and data of Maine's first discovery and settlement, and doubtless there are unexplored fields in which materials of value will yet be found to make more complete the story of our origin as a people. But in this field we have the efficient aid of a similar society in our parent state, now in the one hundredth year of its existence — the early history of Maine being that also of Massachusetts, of which we formed a constituent part. The distinctive history of Maine began in 1820, with the beginning of its independent political life. While we carefully study every document, every record, every relic, and the memory of every aged person, for facts bearing upon the settlement of our towns, and the beginnings of our social institutions, it must be remembered that the duties we owe to our posterity are to act well, and tell truly the history that falls within our own observation and memory, which will have all the glamour and romance for our children that the lives of our fathers and grandfathers have for us.

Our collections require, to give them completeness, to make them a repertory for people at home and abroad, who may ask what Maine is and has been, and what part she has contributed to the upbuilding of a marvelous civilization under the auspices of freedom, biographical sketches of her foremost citizens.

Among Maine judges we have the lives of Shepley, of Clifford, and a meager sketch of Judge Mellen; there ought to be added a fitting history of Ware, of Emery, of Whitman, of Parris and of Preble. Mr. Poor enriched our collections with the biography of one of Maine's sen-

ators — Reuel Williams; they ought, too, to contain a history of the political services of Lot M. Morrill and of William Pitt Fessenden, unless the conspicuous part the latter statesman bore in the events of the civil war and the reconstruction of the national constitution entitle him to a volume devoted to himself.

Those leading statesmen, Peleg Sprague and John Holmes, ought to have conspicuous places in our annals.

The popular interest with which some of our great lawyers and advocates are remembered, ought to be perpetuated, as we have tried to perpetuate the impression which George Evans made upon his time. And there are teachers besides, Professors Cleaveland and Packard, whose humbler, but equally important labors, ought to be magnified, to stimulate the ambition of youth.

Besides prominent individuals, there are remarkable families, that have furnished more than one worthy worker in the development of our social and political life, whose story might be told — like the Kings, from which we chose our first governor, the Washburns and Lovejoys, who have carried their enterprise and intelligence and practical abilities to aid in the upbuilding of more than one western state; the Goodenows, with their fine culture, the Jarvises of Hancock county, with their high spirit and courtly manners, the Pettes of the eastern border, with their shrewdness, originality and force, and many others.

There are too great popular movements which the facile historian might make both edifying and picturesque. We ought to have a just nd sympathetic account of the first Temperance Revival of 1825-30, and of the second or Washingtonian movement of 1840.

The Know-Nothing movement of 1853-54, and the Greenback revolt of 1878, and the land speculation of 1835-36, have never been fitly described. The time will soon come, if it has not already come, when we are far enough removed from the personalities affected, and the passions excited by them, to tell with dispassionate candor and fullness the story of the Paper Credit frauds, and of the disputed election contest of 1879-80. The actions of masses and classes of men in concert are still more interesting and significant than are the actions of individuals.

ED.

ERRATA. — Above on this page, 14th line from bottom, Pettes should be *Pikes*.

Page 169, 9th line from top, John S. Downes should read John *T.* Downes.

JAMES SHEPHERD PIKE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 22, 1885.

BY GEORGE FOSTER TALBOT.

In exploring the ancient beginnings of the history of our state, we must not overlook the grand events, nearer our own times, that have already become historic. In these events—in the great political changes, which have renewed and confirmed the popular liberties, and given strength and stability to our republican constitution—James Shepherd Pike, a citizen of Maine, whose demise has lately happened, was a prominent actor. The tribute we pay his life of disinterested public service is all the more necessary and grateful, in that his public service was so inconspicuous. Applause follows loud and fast upon the footsteps of the military hero. The reputation that rewards brilliant oratory in the courts, or in the state or national legislature, and the distinction and emoluments that accompany the holding of high office, are promptly, spontaneously and universally accorded. But the private citizen, who becomes the advocate of the people, too disorganized to concert for the maintenance of their rights, too poor to compensate, sometimes too short-sighted to appreciate their voluntary defender, whose only incentive is zeal for a just cause, whose only reward is the approval of a good conscience, and who discusses public questions in leading journals, where his personality is merely shadowed in the initials of his name, or quite obscured in an association of unnamed editors, does not make a conspicuous exhibition of himself to the world. If the general public overlook such men, we must rescue them from their privacy and honor their achievements; for it is the historian's business to discover and proclaim the men who really guide the thought of their times, and who initiate the movements which in their issues overthrew or established social and political institutions.

James Shepherd Pike was born in Calais, in the state of Maine, on the eighth of September, 1811. His father was William Pike,

who was born in Portland, August 18, 1775, and his mother was Hannah Shepherd, born in Jefferson, Maine, in 1785. William Pike was twice married, and by his first marriage had a son, the late William Pike of Calais, and a daughter, who became the wife of Judge Anson G., son of General John Chandler, one of Maine's first senators in congress. James Shepherd was the eldest but one of the children of Hannah Shepherd, of whom Edgar, a brilliant scholar, graduate of Bowdoin College, died at the very opening of a promising career as a lawyer in the state of Louisiana, where he established himself immediately after leaving college; Charles E. became a lawyer, practicing successfully in Machias, Maine, in Boston, and in Wisconsin, where he now lives, and having been a member of the legislatures of both Maine and Massachusetts, and solicitor of the internal revenue bureau at Washington; and Frederic A., late of Calais, deceased, is well known in the political history of the country as an influential member of congress, during the important period of the civil war, as a leading lawyer and a sagacious, enterprising and successful business man.

The Pikes are of the New England Puritan stock, the first immigrant and progenitor having been John Pike, born in Langford, England, who removed to America in 1635, bringing his son Robert, then nineteen years of age, and four other children. He seems to have been mentioned in some old record as "John Pike, laborer, from Langford," but it is explained in Mr. Savage's "Genealogical Register," that it was sometimes necessary for the more prominent and zealous dissenters to conceal their places of residence and real description of their persons, to avoid detention and arrest; and the fact that his young sons, John, jr., and Robert, were educated persons, accomplished in the arts of speaking and writing, indicates that their father must have been of an estate above the condition of most laborers at that time. The old records of the Essex county court show that John Pike, sr., appeared in the courts more than once as the attorney of persons who prosecuted suits and obtained judgments in civil causes; and his own will, evidently written by himself, probated at Hampton in 1654, shows by its phraseology, and by the amount and kinds of estate devised, of which an inventory is recorded, that the testator was prominent among an emigration made up, as no other

emigration ever was before or since, of educated and well-to-do people of the middle and upper classes.

This Robert Pike became famous in the history of New England settlement, and was the "New Puritan," whose character and history his descendant, the subject of this sketch, has made illustrious in a biographical work of great merit and interest, published by the Messrs. Harper in 1879. He seems to have been a man in whom the modern and liberal spirit appeared and asserted itself a full century before its time. The poet Whittier writes of Robert Pike: —

> I have been accustomed to regard him as one of the wisest and worthiest of the early settlers of the region of the valley of the Merrimac—the most remarkable personage of the place and time. I have always had an admiration for him, and in my story, "Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal," I endeavored to do justice to him.

The matters in which the radical and prophetic clear-sightedness of Robert Pike was conspicuous amidst the dogmatic and persecuting superstition of his time were, first, his hostile criticism of the action of the Massachusetts legislature, of which he was a member, toward the Quakers, for which he was by that body tried, convicted, fined, and disfranchised; second, his resistance to the dictation of his pastor, the Rev. John Wheelwright, and his excommunication therefor; and third, his opposition to the Salem witchcraft persecutions of 1692, and his triumphant argument against them. Our Mr. Pike, his biographer, says of him:

> It does not appear that he entertained sentiments that could be deemed heretical by the Puritan clergy of the time, even in his defence of Quaker preaching, or his more general doctrines of toleration and personal independence. He simply held "advanced views" of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, which finally became dominant.

The earliest Pike settler established himself in Newbury, Massachusetts, where there is still a large farm which has been in the Pike family more than two hundred years.

This family is numerous, and, like most New England families, has been widely scattered over the country, embracing among its members the author of Pike's arithmetic, with which many an old man has struggled in his youth; Albert Pike, the poet, remembered for his Saul-like stature and long hair by the people

of Arkansas and of Washington city, and Austin F. Pike, congressman and senator from New Hampshire.

The line of descent from John, brother of Robert, the "New Puritan," is through Moses Pike, Timothy Pike, and Timothy Pike, 2d, to William, James Shepherd's father, who removed to Calais and was drowned in St. Andrew's Bay, July 1, 1818, in sight, perhaps, of the Mansion House in Robbinston, where his distinguished son established his beautiful home in the later years of his life.

A good inheritance of character and intellectual vigor came from the mother's ancestry. Hannah Shepherd was a descendant of Rev. James Shepherd, the first settled minister of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Early in the settlement of Maine, some of his descendants came to Jefferson, in Lincoln county, where another James Shepherd became locally famous in the social and civic affairs of the community, and where the name is still in good repute by the excellence and intelligence of the many people who bear it.

Mr. Pike enjoyed the ordinary school advantages of the time of his childhood, but the sudden death of his father, when he was only seven years old, left his mother's young family in poverty, and his school life terminated when he was only fourteen years old. He went into the store of Neal D. Shaw of Calais, largely engaged in lumbering and trade. He developed, from a boy, a rare aptitude for business, habits of industry, and unusual power of reticence and reserve, which made him a most circumspect and confidential person to be entrusted with the responsibilities of commercial enterprises. His clerkship continued till he himself went into business, which was before he attained his legal majority. He tried both trading and banking without any considerable success; and ultimately entered into a partnership with James C. Swan, and engaged in the flour and grain and shipping business, until by its successful results he had acquired the moderate competence which became the nucleus of the considerable property he left at his decease.

He had a sagacious mercantile judgment, a capacity for devising large commercial enterprises, and a self-control and patient hopefulness which would carry him confidently through the discouraging periods of a great venture; and yet, when quite

early in life he found himself in possession of a modest competence, he abandoned the pursuit of gain and never recurred to it. His strength and originality of character were shown by the ease and completeness with which he was able to throw off the mastering passion of the country and the age — the love of money — and turn to pursuits that favored the bent of his genius. He was associated with men embarked in speculations, and listened intelligently to the development of their schemes; he passed through a crisis of our history, when the intimate association betwixt business opportunities and public legislation brought temptations to many of our leading public men, which their integrity and patriotism could not quite resist, and none of these brilliant glimpses of private fortune, opening among the daily walks of public duty, dazzled for a moment his clear sense.

The pursuit to which he devoted himself was that of a public writer and teacher — a teacher, not in the department of science, for which he was not learned, nor of religion, for which he had no calling, but in the larger and more useful, if lower, field of politics, for which he was admirably endowed. His accomplished daughter, Mrs. Mary Caroline Robbins, wife of Dr. J. H. Robbins of Hingham, Massachusetts, writes of him:—

> Though without school education, my father derived from books, of which he was through his early manhood an eager reader, an amount of general information as well as literary knowledge, that made him always among the best informed of men. He read slowly, and when he had finished a book he had made its contents absolutely his. His memory was unfailingly accurate, his judgment sound; and to hear him sum up his impressions derived from his reading was to get the marrow of the work itself, expressed in language of unusual vigor and originality. In his later years he read but few books, but was an exhaustive reader of newspapers. His literary taste was good, though often influenced by his prejudices, and his quotations from authors were always correct and apposite.

Mr. Pike's first literary ventures were as early as 1833, and were published in the Boundary Gazette, a weekly, home paper of limited circulation and brief existence. Thence he advanced to be successively a correspondent of the "Portland Advertiser," "Boston Courier" and "New York Tribune," always a favorite with the readers of those journals, and always securing attention by the freedom of his comments, the sagacity and independence of his counsels, and the vigor and directness of his style.

As soon as he could afford it, which was soon after 1840, Mr. Pike began the habit of spending his winters in Boston, New York and Washington, a habit maintained through his life, with the exception of the five years when he resided abroad. This transferred his interests and his discussions from local and district concerns to the subject of national politics, and the general political development of the great national parties. He had confidence, frank and easy manners, an address at the same time cordial and dignified, ready resources for conversation, a fund of ideas and suggestions for less thoughtful men, so that he easily made the acquaintance of public men, and soon arrayed the ablest of these among his friends and co-workers. A man who has intellectual resources, who is neither a self-seeker nor a sycophant, commands the friendship of others upon his own terms; and Mr. Pike, who was never a mere hireling writer, but wrote only when he had something to say, who early cut the leash that binds most men in some allegiance to party or to sect, and was never hampered by the more excusable bond of poverty, was always a person worth having at the side of a great politician. His standpoint as an independent thinker and writer was really a larger and more efficient one than that of the ordinary congressman, watched by passionate constituents and hampered by virtual or explicit pledges as to what he should do and say. The best use to which a precocious youth can put a little money, if he can earn it, is to buy his time; and the American youth, if he can discover it, will find no money he lays out will ever go so far in getting back equivalents, as that which he spends while he is still young in buying his freedom—not only from masters and patrons, but from dominant creeds and conventionalities, and the great bugbear of unpopularity. Mr. Pike in early life paid like a man for this commodity, and had the good of it, with his money back and all the popularity with it he ever cared for.

Mr. Pike's characteristic activity, the business to which he devoted his life, was that of a public writer, aiming to shape the opinions of his fellow citizens to beneficent ends through the press. The office is an entirely modern one, the outgrowth of the newspaper and of democratic institutions. In Athens and in Rome, where one great city was the state, the assembled people in the *agora* and in the *forum* could affect the election of their magis-

trates, and mold the form of their laws, and, in their turn, their minds could be persuaded and their passions moved by the eloquence of popular orators. Paris has always claimed to be France, and her transient republics have been rather upon the Athenian and Roman than the Swiss and American model. Hence a high order of oratory, that modern culture has not been able to surpass, became the necessary outgrowth and supplement of such governments and of such environments. But how can the American *demos* — scattered from the St. Croix to the Rio Grande, from Old Point Comfort to Puget sound — be brought within ear-shot of one Demosthenes or of one Danton? The claim of any one city to a metropolitan control over all the other cities would be instantly resisted by a combination of all the rest of the country. The orator must speak with his pen, and the newspaper must carry his fervid thoughts to every hamlet of the continent-covering commonwealth. A thousand campaign speakers may periodically take the stump to persuade the voters what officers to elect, or what general policy to approve, but for every day's reference to the people of the details of proposed legislation or administration the newspaper must be the vehicle; and from the newspaper the elected rulers must receive the encouragements or warnings of their constituents. In fine, what the *agora* and the orators were to the ancient republics, the editor and his correspondents are to our great modern republic — its democratic mechanism.

For this office, not named in any state or national constitution, nor organized under any law, but none the less vital and essential to our political system, Mr. Pike needed no qualification but his own commanding abilities and no appointment but the bent of his own genius. He had an inquisitive, orderly mind and a tenacious memory. He took keen and rapid note of facts rather than of ideas. He did not largely speculate or widely generalize. He saw the world as it was, rather than as it ought to be. He never preferred a complete ideal of remote and difficult accomplishment to a practical utility within reach, and to be brought about by existing agencies.

He was a sagacious judge of men, and was not imposed upon by their pretensions or their fine sentiments. He saw what good tendencies they had, and how they might work together to effect salutary results. But he did not despair because he found the

great mass of men around him selfish, vain and foolish — more careful to promote their personal fortunes than the public good. As most men are good-natured enough to help their neighbors after helping themselves, he thought their selfishness might be balanced and some good got out of them for the common welfare; while a few crumbs of praise or emolument might be left within their reach to keep them in heart. All sentimentality was rather offensive to him, and, to rid himself of the imputation of it, he sometimes was willing to avow for himself and his co-adjutors a lower range of motives than actually controlled their conduct.

With rapid intelligence he took note of affairs as they unrolled themselves in each day's news; with sagacious judgment he formed his opinion of their import and tendency, and how they could be guided to the most satisfactory results; and this opinion he was ready, often before any one else, to make known. Thus he stood in relation not so much to the age and the century as to the day and the hour. He was not the heavy man who waits in silence, till the event has completed itself and all the world has made its comment, to sum up with judicial comprehensiveness; he was the alert man, whose prompt word helps shape the event itself and makes its significance. No instrument suits the off-hand and ready genius of such a man so well as the daily newspaper and the telegraph, which vivisect "the very age and body of the time," while the deliberate book is their autopsy.

From a discriminating reading of English literature, and English only, Mr. Pike had equipped himself with a clear, direct and vigorous style. It was humorous, slightly sarcastic, abounding in telling points tersely expressed, aptly illustrated by citations from the best authors, always accessible in his capacious memory, and oftener by homely references to every-day life, or the familiar processes of daily employment; but he never obstructed the movement of his argument by a multiplicity of rhetorical figures, nor failed to make his serious counsel intelligible or to point the moral of his discourse. The public soon became familiar with his well-known initials, J. S. P., and enterprising editors, though almost always shocked and alarmed at his bluntness of speech and the boldness of his advice, were willing to give hospitality to, and even moderately to pay for, letters that made the dull pages of their journals so sprightly and salable. His powers of vivid description

were very rare. He knew what features of a scene, a subject or a person were picturesque and effective, and in what terms they could be most vividly set forth. Thousands of readers remember his description of the Negro legislature of reconstructed South Carolina, in a series of letters afterward embodied in a pamphlet entitled "The Prostrate State." That vivid tableau of the uncouth and ignorant freedman as a law-maker and magistrate did more, perhaps, than anything that was published to open the eyes of Northern people to the cruel and unusual punishment which—too tender-hearted to hang traitors or confiscate their lands—they had inflicted upon their defeated fellow citizens of the South.

Here is a picture of Henry Clay's oratory, as exhibited in his old age in the American senate. It was upon the so-called "Compromise Resolutions" of 1850:—

We know of no man, who can excite simultaneously the feelings of admiration and resentment so effectually as Mr. Clay. His oratory teaches us to see how it is that an Irishman can enjoy a shillaleh fight with his best friend. In his speech of yesterday, Mr. Clay would say something in one breath, for which one desired to embrace him, and in another something that would prompt a man of any combativeness to knock him down. He portrayed the blessings of fraternal union, the delights of concord, harmony and peace; he expressed his desire to heal divisions and allay animosities and irritations; and then he challenged the administration to bring out a champion of its policy on the floor of the senate, and meet him face to face, and he promised to grind him to powder. Mr. Clay became deeply excited. He displayed the spirit and fire of his youth. Deep, pervading passion spoke in his impetuous gestures and his purple countenance. He became unusually voluble and impassioned. His voice was never more flexible or more trumpet-toned. He thundered and lightened and stormed amain. He shook his hoary locks, gray with three and seventy winters. His features gleamed with demoniac energy. Withering blasts came from his mouth. He rained down censures and imprecations. He seemed to wing his way through and over the senate chamber like a hawk over the frightened flock of the barn-yard; self-poised, he pounced on this argument and that, and tore it in pieces as with the beak and talons of a vulture. Old as he is, his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated. He alluded to the policy of the administration on the territorial and slavery questions in terms of mingled scorn, contempt, derision, hate and inflexible opposition. He denounced the plan in whole and in detail. He dared any senator to rise in his place and defend it.

Two years later he thus speaks of the futility of all compromise legislation upon slavery :—

Herein is to be found the basis of Mr. Calhoun's judgment on this question. The idea that a "compromise," or a vote of congress on this question altered the real relation or judgment, or would influence the action of the Northern mind in regard to it, was a transparent folly that his eagle glance always pierced in an instant. O green and verdant gentlemen of the House of Representatives! ye who vainly fancy that carrying the compromise measures through your illustrious body is a great political stroke, even a triumph over an ever-active principle in the heart of man; it is time you were resolving that the sun shall stand still on another Gibeon. It is time you were erecting a stage under the ends of the rainbow, in order to spike it upon the sky. It is time you had resolved that the ocean shall cease to surge, the streams to flow, or the season to return. Vote winter to be eternal, that darkness shall reign forever, but do no such folly as vote that the human heart shall not throb in sympathy with the oppressed, and give voice to its sympathies. Vote not that the mental volition of a free people shall be fettered and chained down; vote not that the spirit of liberty shall be quenched! Do not attempt to betray freedom; do not offend humanity; do not provoke Heaven; do not expose congress to ridicule; do not do yourselves injustice by any such monstrous folly as this. You may compromise a tariff question, or a land or money question, for such are material in their nature, evanescent in character, and limited in scope. But you cannot compromise a question of human freedom, for its relations and influences go beyond the stars, and its bearings and connections are eternal.

This is the plain and trenchant way he rebuked Mr. Webster for his great apostacy to the cause of the North :—

We are constrained to regard the course of Mr. Webster, and those who have followed him in his lamentable desertion of principle, as pernicious in the extreme, and deserving, therefore, of unqualified rebuke and condemnation. When led by distinguished men, such political tergiversation as we have witnessed debauches the tone of public morals in all the walks of life. Literature is vitiated, the press is corrupted, the pulpit is infected. What have we seen in the last few years? Newspapers subsidized and turned to the right-about-face as quickly as ever an army changed front at the word of command; books of education—those mighty agents in forming the opinions of the rising generation—emasculated of the manly sentiments of freedom; hoary clergymen preaching doctrines that hardened sinners mentally damn on the spot for their scoundrelism, and who, if Heaven had no more charity than earth, would be blasted by the lightnings of the Almighty for their impious desecration of their office. Old Hunkerism in the pulpit is enough to make the world infidel. The preacher who fails to assert or by implication denies

the supremacy of the "higher law" deserves to be roasted in sulphur. Yet has the political apostacy of the last two years unveiled to our vision such white-neckerchiefed renegades.

In 1850 Mr. Pike received an invitation from Horace Greeley to become a regular correspondent of the "Tribune." It began in these terms:—

NEW YORK, April 24, 1850.

Dear Sir:—Will you write me some letters? You are writing such abominably bad ones for the "Boston Courier," that I fancy you are putting all your unreason into these, and can give me some of the pure juice. Try.

To understand the work which Mr. Pike did as a correspondent and associate editor of the "New York Tribune" during the next ten years, in forming and concentrating the opinion of patrotic citizens of the United States against the ambitious projects of the slaveholders—ultimately culminating in insurrection and civil war—it is necessary to review briefly the attitude of the slavery question at the time Mr. Greeley's curt and not complimentary invitation was accepted.

The slave power, decidedly subordinate to freedom in the national administration up to 1820, had that year obtained, after an intense struggle, a compromise that secured it virtual equality. Under this compromise the growth of free and slave states had been kept abreast, and for every free community admitted to the fellowship of the Union had been improvised a slave-holding oligarchy on the model of South Carolina and Virginia. But free communities are more thrifty and populous than slave states, and a free people is more enterprising and migratory. It became apparent that the balance between the hostile interests in the national senate could not be long maintained. All the national domain in which slavery was not inhibited by a statute, which was believed to have all the sanction of a constitution, had been devoted to a new home for Indian tribes removed from the Gulf states, really, because their presence there menaced the security of slave property; while a habitable region as large as all the rest of the country stretched from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, open to free settlers and devoted to free states. What could be done to maintain the threatened balance? A band of adventurers from the South and Southwest, under the leadership

of Houston and Austin, invaded the border province of Mexico, and by plotting and fighting contrived to wrest from that republic her largest province of Texas. As soon as the military power of Mexico had been overcome, the United States hastened to acknowledge the independence of the new country, and with indecent haste to annex it with the consent of its American settlers to the Union. Had the high contracting parties of this alliance been content with the original boundaries of this conquered province, Mexico was too feeble to offer resistance; but a claim was made for Texas of a frontier upon the Rio Grande, which would sever from a sister republic full a fourth of her territory. This claim Mexico did resist, and the United States government, in the full control of the slave power, not without some difficulty, managed to embroil the two countries in war. This was fought out bravely enough; and with her capitol held in possession of our troops, Mexico had no indemnity which we would accept but the cession of another large section of her territory. With the acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, California and Utah the oligarchy seemed to have acquired land enough not hampered by the Missouri compromise to extend the slave system indefinitely at their leisure, and maintain the balance of power against any probable growth of the free states. So far as political policy was concerned, the North had been completely foiled. But the course of events happily favored the cause of freedom. The wonderful discovery of gold in the streams of California precipitated upon that region an immense immigration, largely of laboring poor men from the northern states. It acquired in a few months the capacities of a state, formed a constitution and asked admission to the Union. Such a population as occupied it could but be hostile to servile labor; accordingly its constitution inhibited slavery in the terms of the original ordinance of 1787.

Politically, too, the Mexican war had failed to enure to the advantage of the political party that had principally fomented it. In the popular estimate General Taylor, who fought at Buena Vista, and not General Scott, who, amid the bickerings and dissensions of his generals, had taken the city of Mexico, was the hero of the war. With singular adroitness the Whigs fixed upon "Old Rough and Ready" as a name to conjure by, and on the breast of a periodical wave of popular excitement floated him

into the presidency. There are last who shall be first; and it was with no little chagrin that the Democrats, who had been foremost in doing the behests of slavery, submitted to see in the executive chair a chief who, although a slaveholder, was no propagandist of slavery, and in his cabinet Tom Corwin of Ohio, who, on the outbreak of the war, had said in a speech in congress that he hoped Mexico would welcome the soldiers of the Union, carrying on such an unrighteous warfare, "to bloody shrouds and hospitable graves."

The whole South was filled with consternation and alarm. It had filibustered Texas and conquered half of Mexico to get room to expand its peculiar institution; and while it was getting ready to appropriate its new acquisition, the alert and enterprising North had stepped in and appropriated a part of the dearly bought soil to free labor, significant of the destiny that might await the rest of it.

A furious pro-slavery agitation was at once set on foot throughout the South, and a southern convention was summoned to meet at Nashville to consider what the emergency required of southern patriots. Early in 1850 Mr. Calhoun, then very feeble and within a month of his demise, had read in the senate by Mr. Mason of Virginia, his last speech. Mr. Pike thus describes the scene in a letter to the "Portland Advertiser":—

> Mr. Calhoun tottered to the senate on Monday, carrying his manuscript with him. Too feeble to read it himself Mr. Mason of Virginia, performed the office for him. The speech was listened to with profound attention. It bears the peculiar characteristics of its distinguished author; displaying great force, great earnestness, great directness, and being marked throughout with the analytic power, unity of idea, and simplicity and clearness of expression which stamp all his productions.

No doubt Mr. Calhoun had already made up his mind that all compromises would be fruitless, and that the only remedy for the intolerable evils of the South was secession and independence. He was willing, however, to satisfy the consciences of his more confiding and loyal compatriots, to offer his last terms of reconciliation. He firmly believed slavery to be the cornerstone of the republic, its maintenance the condition of maintaining our government. His plan of continued union with the North was that it should concede to the slaveholders unrestricted access to Califor-

nia and all the newly acquired territories, and give to the slave states, by an amendment of the constitution, a qualified veto upon all congressional legislation.

The agitation set on foot in the South, transferred to congress, soon permeated the whole country. The North, grown used to concession, hesitated, and the commercial press of the large cities, though conservatively Whig in politics, began palpably to give ground before the imperious tone of the oligarchy. The southern Whigs were swept completely away in the sectional freshet. But the strength of the hostile influences, the extent of the demoralization, was indicated in the most conspicuous way by the defection of Mr. Webster.

Both Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay were known to have looked upon the nomination of Gen. Taylor, "a rough frontier colonel," as he was called, as a personal affront. Mr. Clay had gotten himself returned out of order to the senate, and took no pains to conceal his contempt of the new administration and his hostility to its half-way policy. Mr. Webster had characterized the nomination of Gen. Taylor as one not fit to be made, and was in no mood to give his administration the prestige of his talents and influence. As the debate in congress proceeded from week to week, great anxiety was felt in the North as to which side the great orator would take. Some reports placed him on the northern side, and said he would make a great speech in the tone of his Plymouth address, in harmony with all his previous public utterances in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. Others were as confident that he would sacrifice everything to save the endangered Union. On the seventh of March he declared himself, and, while submitting to a free California as a fact accomplished, he ridiculed and characterized as unnecessary any legislation against slavery in New Mexico—a term then used to designate all the territory not comprised within the boundaries of California and Texas—because from those high table-lands slavery was excluded by a divine dispensation, and it was useless for congress to re-enact the law of God. Mr. Pike, in the same letter to the "Portland Advertiser," thus comments on the great speech :—

Mr. Webster's speech, delivered on Thursday, made a wide and deep sensation. It was listened to by the most densely packed audience ever assembled within the walls of the senate chamber. It was a very able

speech of course. Mr. Webster cannot speak without making an able speech. But in its main point, that of the application of the Wilmot Proviso to a territorial government for New Mexico, Mr. Webster disappointed the North by his declaration that he should vote against it. The sentiment is uniform among northern members, New England members especially, that on this question he must stand alone. Not a Whig from New England will go with him. We have no disposition to animadvert upon the speech, though we consider it open to censure both for what it says and for what it does not say. It is as remarkable for its omissions and deficiencies, as it is for its declarations. We shall say no more of it, than that we consider it unsound, impolitic, and *mal apropos*. Yet we cannot forbear to allude to the striking contrast exhibited by Mr. Webster's vote and action in 1848, in favor of applying the Wilmot Proviso to the Oregon territorial bill, and his present declaration, that he will not vote for the proviso in a territorial bill for New Mexico, because it would be "to re-enact the will of God." Pray tell us, was it the will of God that slavery should exist in Oregon, and did Mr. Webster make his great efforts on that memorable occasion to thwart that will? If not, what did he do then but "re-enact the will of God?" And we should be pleased further to be informed whether there was more danger of slavery going into Oregon—all of which is north of the celebrated line of 36° 30′, than there is of its going into New Mexico, all of which is south of 36° 30′.

Mr. Pike had not evidently anticipated this defection of Mr. Webster, for in a letter to the "Boston Courier" of February 27, he had thus expressed himself:—

The free states hold the peaceable settlement of the whole teritorial question in the hollow of their hands. They have only to act steadily and moderately about the admission of California, and let alone every other feature of it, to accomplish all that they want to accomplish. The southern agitators and disunionists are in a bad way. Unless the North can be coaxed or wheeled, or flattered or cajoled, or driven into doing something for their relief, they must soon be checkmated. They have but a move or two more. In this strait the most beseeching faces have of late been turned toward Mr. Webster. Leading senators and leading newspapers—the very antipodes of the distinguished senator in all things, have suddenly begun to coo round him like doves, begging him to produce some plan or bring forth some compromise which shall avert the threatened doom. We shall see what Mr. Webster will do in this emergency.

This "letting alone of every other feature" except the admission of California, which Mr. Pike sagaciously advised, was not at all suited to the temper of the Free Soilers, perhaps not to that

of the anti-slavery Whigs. They were insisting upon prohibition, and believed they had the votes in congress to put it through. President Taylor in his annual message had recommended the immediate admission of California with her free constitution, and the admission of New Mexico when applied for, with whatever constitution her people might adopt. This plan did not suit the anti-slavery North; it infuriated the South. It was afterward characterized as the squatter sovereignty doctrine. The only realization of it in practice was a free California, and it was as distasteful to the propagandists of slavery as was the Wilmot Proviso, or abolitionism itself—as distasteful as it was afterward when brought forward by Senator Douglas as a basis of a free Kansas. So even the moderate slaveholders of the border states, led by Mr. Clay, opposed the president's plan, and Mr. Webster gave them his virtual support. But in revolutions, in dealing with strong conflicting interests and the inveterate opinions of masses of united and determined men, we must do, not always what we wish, not what is best, but what can be done in the emergency. So that ultimately the whole anti-slavery North, including the most earnest Free Soilers, fell back upon the president's policy as a defensible line, and hoped with his popularity and patronage to make a successful stand upon it.

Mr. Pike's striking and eloquent letters, mostly published in the "Boston Courier," advocating as against Henry Clay and the whole conservative party, Democratic and Whig, the president's policy, first attracted the attention of Horace Greeley, and drew from him the invitation already quoted.

The letters seemed nearly to have made shipwreck of that organ of the white-gloved aristocracy of Boston, then in close social, commercial and political relation with the slaveholders. Poor Mr. Kettell, on the twenty-second of April, 1850, thus pitifully discloses his disabilities in a letter to Mr. Pike:—

> I return your letter agreeably to your request. It went sadly against my grain to withhold it from the press, for no one can like it better than I do. If I were not hampered by business obligations in this particular matter there should be no impediment to the swing of your broad-ax in the "Courier." Nothing is better relished here.

Again, three days later, he writes and thus depicts the slavery he is under to his employers:—

My hope and trust is that you may never be hampered in the free expression of your thoughts through the columns of the "Courier." The reputation which you have gained for it is great. I wish the independence of a public journal were a means of making it profitable; but I am ashamed for our enlightened public to say, that the dullest, stupidest, most *unideaed* and slavish of all printed sheets are the very ones most certain of success in money matters. People are very eager to read what they will not pay for.

Even Mr. Greeley's invitation did not indicate any sympathy with his notions, and he had to submit to a running controversy with the editor at the insertion of each of his outspoken letters. But Mr. Greeley had an antislavery public behind him. His best subscribers were furnished in large clubs in the New England and Western towns; and counted together they were a patronage well worth going for. So, though Mr. Greeley was not an abolitionist, though he never pretended to have any faith in any of the leading measures the abolitionists advocated or in the candidates they voted for, he gave admission not only to letters, but also to editorial articles written by earnest antislavery men, and was often too busy either to controvert or mutilate them.

The transfer of Mr. Pike's trenchant pen from the "Boston Courier" to the "New York Tribune" widely extended his fame, and its popularity and influence. His contributions, sometimes coming in rapid succession, extend from April 26, 1850, to the end of the year 1852, during the latter part of which time Mr. Pike had become a co-editor and co-proprietor of the "Tribune." The burden of these writings is in protest against the so-called "compromise measures" introduced by Mr. Clay, the most odious feature of which was a new "fugitive slave law," which was afterward ruthlessly and most imprudently put in execution in the northern states, to the great indignation of all humane citizens; for it brought the before remote cruelties and meannesses of the slave system home to the sight and feeling of hosts of men and women, who had been otherwise indifferent to them.

The "Tribune," with its constituency of the very *élite* of the humane and cultivated people of the North, fairly led the printed debate of the day against slavery; and Mr. Pike, it is easy enough now to see, was the soul of all that was antislavery in the "Tribune." This is a specimen of the fearless spirit in which he re-

buked the great Webster. It is in one of his earliest "Tribune" letters:—

How long is it since the great Northern champion of the Whig party, himself now bolting from its ranks, and leaving its main division to worry along as it best may without his presence and without his counsels, uttered this remarkable declaration: "For myself on the dark and troubled night that is upon us, I see no star above the horizon promising light to guide us but the star of the great, united Whig party." We see how brief a period has elapsed since this eminent citizen, for whose great powers we entertain the highest admiration, and upon whose present position we look with no other feelings but those of profound regret, was clear in his apprehension that certain great national duties and obligations devolved upon the Whig party as a distinctive body. And yet now, instead of using his great abilities to hold that party together, and to give unity and force to its action, he wields the two-edged sword of his logic and his eloquence to sever the withes that unite and bind it together.

In the same letter he thus pays his respects to Mr. Clay:—

Suppose Mr. Clay were in the presidential chair, and he acting in the plentitude of his influence and authority as a great party leader, as well as official head of a Whig administration, should have come down to Congress with the identical proposition that General Taylor offers, to compose the country, what whispers of opposition to it would have been heard in any quarter? Or if perchance a dissenting voice were feebly uttered amid the universal acclamation of concurrence we should then have witnessed, what fate would be that man's who should persist in contumacious resistance to the policy of the administration? The answer rises promptly to every man's lips. He would be condemned for mutiny and triced to the yard-arm as soon as the crew could be piped to quarters, to witness the ceremony.

Later in the "Boston Courier," he thus vigorously follows up the great compromiser:—

Let us see what Mr. Clay assails the president for doing. It is not for recommending the admission of California, for here the senator from Kentucky vouchsafes his concurrence with the executive. But it is for recommending New Mexico to present a state constitution and to pray for admission into the Union. This is the thing the president has done. Mr. Clay, in the plentitude of his assumed authority, with a sublimity of impudence that surpasses all ordinary conception of this quality, says, in effect: "This is altogether wrong. New Mexico ought not to have a state government. She should be erected into a territory. She is unfit for a state government. Standing here in my place with all the responsibilities of my position upon me, I declare that I will not vote for her

admission as a state. General Taylor, you should have known better than to have made such a ridiculous recommendation. Sir, you should have consulted me on this question." It is thus Mr. Clay undertakes to read the president a lecture upon what he has done in the discharge of his official duty, and to unceremoniously condemn and repudiate it as an unfit action for the president of the United States, he, Mr. Clay, assuming to be the sole judge and arbiter in the premises. We ask again, whence comes Mr. Clay's pretentious claim to supervise the official action of the president, and refer it for condemnation or approval to his individual judgment? What means this unparalleled presumption of a demand upon the president to defend himself to Henry Clay?

Upon what meat has this our Cæsar fed?

Who appointed Mr. Clay the lieutenant-general of the president?

It is hard now to see why a senator, a portion of an entirely independent and co-ordinate department of the government, a member of the law-making power, might not disapprove, censure and vote against a recommendation of the president, whose office it is not to make or dictate laws, but to execute such laws as congress may see fit to enact. But the fiery invective of the correspondent shows the vigor with which the controversy was waged in and out of Congress, and the intensity of the public feeling.

Unlike the prominent writers and thinkers of the time with whom it was the fashion to ridicule the threats of disunion as mere Southern gasconade, Mr. Pike seems very early to have foreseen the grave issues to which the struggle between the sections would lead. In a letter to the "Boston Courier" of February 6, 1850, he said:—

It is but too evident that if the South goes on to disunion on the alleged ground of disaffection, she goes on to civil war. Who doubts the result of such a contest? The contemplation of it is fearful, terrible in the extreme. The doom of slavery is sealed the day that contest commences.

He never seems to have shared Mr. Seward's sanguine surmise that there would be no real war, nor to have supported Mr. Greeley's timid counsel, that when the war had begun, the "erring sisters" should be allowed to depart in peace, for he had thus declared in his first published letter in the "Courier":—

There can be no peaceable dissolution of this Union. The government of the United States, headed by a president who has sworn to support the constitution and is determined to uphold the Union, will lay its heavy hand upon any man that attempts to disorganize and break it up. The Union is not looked upon by the government of the United States or by

the people of the United States as a loose aggregation of States—a confederacy from which any member may withdraw at will, but as the result of a contract which binds every member, and which must be enforced, if necessary, against whichever of its members may turn recusant and desire to escape from its obligations, or reclaim the concessions it has voluntarily made to the government of the whole. No attempt at secession, therefore, can for a moment be countenanced by the national government. The first step to sever that comprehending bond which encircles these states will call down its whole power to crush the effort. That power is great and terrible, for it rests upon the constitution and the laws, and is sustained by the affections and upheld by the mighty will of millions of free people.

The "J. S. P." letters were widely read at the North, and there is no doubt that the ideas and sentiments so vigorously and eloquently expressed in them became firmly fixed in the minds not only of the Northern public, but of many men who afterward, in high official positions, directed the legislation and the executive policy of the government. No better rostrum could a fervid patriot have had, not even the halls of congress, from which to sound forth his admonitions and exhortations.

In spite of the defection of the whole body of Southern Whigs under the leadership of Mr. Clay, then at the climax of his fame and power, in spite of the damaging desertion of Mr. Webster, the Whig party, with the prestige of Gen. Taylor's popularity, might have succeeded in defeating the so-called "compromise measures." But the North had had a favoring accident in the gold discovery and rapid settlement of California, and now it had a disastrous accident in the sudden death of Gen. Taylor. Mr. Fillmore assumed the executive chair, and it was soon evident that his sympathies were on the conservative side of his party. A new cabinet came in, among whom Mr. Webster was at once recognized as leader, and what had been ridiculed as the "omnibus bill," now dignified as the "compromise and peace measures," was carried through both branches of congress. The most odious feature of this legislation was the new fugitive slave law, imprudently enforced, irritating the best sentiments of the Northern citizens, and making outspoken abolitionists of cool and conservative men. In its practical operation, therefore, this law was anything but a *peace measure.* But there lurked in the compromise a mere omission and negation, out of which insidiously and inevitably grew the Kansas struggle, secession and civil war.

After the slavery propagandists had gotten control of congress, and by the demise of Gen. Taylor of the administration, it remained to be seen whether they could get control of the Whig party. The Whig party had come into power with a popular president and a working majority of congress, and there was every indication that it might maintain its ascendency for a series of years. Mr. Pike was a sincere Whig of the antislavery type. He and his compatriots saw it was futile to attempt to make the Southern Whigs tolerant of the Wilmot proviso. On the other hand, they saw that it was impossible to make the body of the Northern Whigs forego opposition to slavery in the territories; and that to insist upon that was to drive them in crowds into the ranks of the Free-Soilers, who were everywhere in the free states assailing them for their treachery to the cause of freedom, and thinning their ranks by winning over their most estimable supporters. But General Taylor's plan of letting in California free —which really insured the whole Pacific coast against slavery— and letting the case of New Mexico wait till she was ready to make a constitution, was a compromise, upon which North and South could stand, and upon which the integrity of the Whig party could be preserved. The contest that had gone disastrously for the Northern Whigs in congress was early in 1852 transferred to the Whig National Presidential convention. Mr. Webster had set his heart on the nomination, but found his seventh of March speech standing squarely in his path. He had received praises from Southern Whigs, and the premiership of the reconstructed administration; but he had lost in all the Northern states the votes that could have put him in nomination at Baltimore. The North was far stronger in a Whig national convention than it was in congress, and the North selected General Scott as a presidential candidate, intending through him to express approval of the General Taylor policy of letting slavery alone. The Southern Whigs and the administration were not strong enough to prevent the nomination of Scott, but they were strong enough to compel the convention, before nominating him, to indorse in the national platform the obnoxious "compromise measures." There was still Mr. Greeley's device open to the Northern Whigs, for the old hero to accept the nominntion and "spit upon the platform," and a number of ingenious gentlemen actually penned drafts of

cunning letters, in which he was to take a position that would satisfy the South and at the same time leave some equivocation with which to gull Northern voters. The blundering old chief, however, in his eagerness swallowed, like another hasty plate of soup, not only the nomination but the platform along with it, and the ingenious letters became curiosities of political literature. From that time the election to the presidency of any Whig became impossible, and the campaign itself only a funeral procession of the party to its grave. Mr. Pike, who had voted in the convention with Pitt Fessenden and three other of the eight Maine delegates against the adoption of the Baltimore platform, tersely said in a letter of December 10, 1852:—

> Funeral honors will be paid by Congress to Mr. Webster. The obsequies of the Whig party will not be celebrated till after the 4th of March.

In deliberately refusing to apply any restriction to slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico, Congress had affirmed that such restriction was unfair and unfraternal to the South. In the legal cant of the time it was characterized as unconstitutional. How then about the slavery restriction of 1820? Was that not unfair and unconstitutional? so it began to be affirmed by reckless men. However, it was nothing but a statute, and may not a statute be repealed? So that when the territory of Nebraska came to be organized, Mr. Douglas succeeded, aided by the patronage of the Pierce administration, in engrafting upon the bill a clause repealing the Misssouri compromise.

This mischief was only accomplished after an intense struggle, which convulsed congress. The whole power of the Pierce administration was flung into the scale to help the faith-breakers. The Southern Whigs, though they insisted that the South did not ask for such an advantage, said that they would gladly accept it, if it was tendered by the North. The great body of the Northern Whigs stood firm for the maintenance of the national faith, and a few Northern Democrats, contemning the party lash which was vigorously swung by Pierce and Douglas, voted with them. The pretext that gave this measure plausibility with Northern men was, that it was referring the whole matter of their social and industrial customs to the people of the territories themselves, the very people solely interested. But this reference to the peo-

ple of the territories was never intended by the plotters, was carefully excluded by the terms of the act itself — as was palpably shown in the long debate — and the true purpose to force slavery upon a community that hated and feared it, was shamefully exhibited by an attempt, backed by the executive power through its civil and military officers, persisted in through a series of years, and only abandoned after years of actual civil war, in which old John Brown was a leading partisan, to carry on which Northern churches actually took up contributions to be expended in the purchase of Sharp's rifles.

The South retired sullen and embittered from this defeat, ready for the madness that preceded divine destruction. For, having the clear control of the country through the votes of the Democratic party, it recklessly threw away its advantage, picked a quarrel with its sufficiently subservient Northern allies, and by running a Southern candidate against Douglas, the favorite of the Northern Democracy, brought about the election of a minority candidate of the opposition, and made that election the pretext of a premature secession. Even after Mr. Lincoln's election, the institution of slavery within its own domain never stood more secure. More than that, the slave-holding aristocracy, by the partition of Texas into five states, stipulated for in the "compromise measures," by the acquisition of Cuba and St. Domingo, which had been vigorously plotted for, by seducing, as they might easily, New Mexico and all the more Southern territories, by keeping out Nevada and Colorado, really not yet with a stable population large enough to have a representation in the national senate, might have maintained what they deemed so essential, the balance of power, until this time, if not indefinitely. But they were mad; and in their madness and blindness they pulled down the pillars of the Union, upon which as a thing not of right but of compact, their unrighteous institution stood, and it and they perished in the ruin.

All through this long struggle, the trumpet of the "Tribune" gave no uncertain sound. This time its influence was not weakened by any divided counsels; and the warnings and counsels and fervid exhortations which Mr. Pike sounded from Washington were heartily responded to in the editorial rooms in New

York. January 26, 1854, Mr. Pike thus notifies his Northern readers through the editorial columns:—

If the traitorous men at Washington, who are plotting the surrender to slavery of the free territory west of the Mississippi believed that a majority of the North would fail to sustain the movement, they would instantly cease their clamor and skulk back, and we should hear no more about it. But they have adopted the belief that the passage of the compromise measures of 1850 and the triumphant election of Frank Pierce have taken all the spirit out of the North, and that the mass of the voters are now ready to wink at any party iniquity and sustain any party measure, whatever its enormity.

Again on the thirteenth of February, he returns to the subject:—

Whenever it shall come to this that Congress is filled with men, who possess none of the spirit of self-devotion, the country will become the constant prey of demagogues, such as are now practicing their infernal arts upon this body through the Nebraska bill. Unfortunately, however, we fear that reflections like these pertinent though they be, will get no votes against the great iniquity. What is wanted is action, action, action. The North must rouse in its might and majesty. The people must declare themselves. The infamous scheme must fall, if it falls at all, before the direct assault of the people. It must be stunned by their blows aud blasted by their maledictions. It is no time for apathy and no time for soft words. Congress was never more sensitive to the public voice than it is today upon this measure. Its attention is on the alert, and its ears are wide open. Let them be filled with the accumulated thunders of a universal condemnation of this atrocious aggression upon the free states. Let those thunders roll till they shake the pillars of the capitol and resound throughout the continent. Public meetings should be everywhere held, petitions should be everywhere circulated. Every hand should be raised, and every tongue should be loosened against this crowning infamy. Let the united voices of the millions of the free states rise and swell like the increasing roar of the nearing cataract, until they shall drown every caitiff note of approval of this monster fraud, and till every ear in Washington shall feel as though it were pierced by the sound of an archangel's trumpet.

In April he gave this warning:—

Be assured, be assured, gentlemen disturbers of settled questions, gentlemen violators of sacred compacts, gentlemen robbers of the domain of freedom, that you are provoking a storm of popular excitement of which you little dream. You are sowing the wind and you will reap the whirlwind. All will be quiet when your few lines shall have gone upon the statute book? All will be peace and acquiescence as in 1850?

Oh! but you are verdant. Douglas tells you this, doesn't he? Pierce thinks it is so, doesn't he? That consistent statesman, Caleb Cushing, assures you the bill will "crush out" the spirit of freedom, doesn't he? Well, gentlemen, they are first-rate authorities, and you had better believe them. But we tell you no! The supposition is a gross delusion. . . . We have here intimated nothing beyond the opening of the great drama, that the repeal of the Missouri compromise will bring upon the stage. These are but suggestions of the first and most superficial acts it will introduce. Far graver consequences lie behind. It inaugurates the era of a geographical division of political parties. It draws the line between North and South. It pits face to face the two opposing forces of slavery and freedom in the national legislature, and gives birth to the most embittered sectional strife the country has ever yet seen.

After a long struggle and parliamentary contests several times protracted through the night, Mr. Pike thus announced the event to the readers of the "Tribune": —

The revolution is accomplished, and slavery is king! How long shall this monarch reign? This is now the question for the Northern people to answer. Their representatives have crowned the new potentate, and the people alone can depose him. If we were a few steps further advanced in the drama of reaction now going forward upon the great theater of public affairs upon this continent, he could only be hurled from his seat through a bloody contest. Happily we are not yet brought to that pass, and votes will serve instead of bayonets. It is for the people now to say whether they will submit to the new dynasty, or rebel and recover what has been perfidiously betrayed by their representatives into the hands of the enemy. It is for them to say whether they will be free men still, or the serfs of a slave-holding aristocracy — to say whether the masters of the black race in the South shall be the masters of the white race in the North.

Strangely enough at the very crisis when the patriotic heart of the country ought to have been electrified by such appeals — and many other earnest men were giving them utterance — it was occupied with one of the most puerile and absurd agitations set on foot by obscure adventurers, and propagated through secret lodges with pass-words, signs and badges, that ever got control of an intelligent people. The *animus* of the whole movement was antipathy to foreign immigrants, and a new anti-popery *furor*, such as has periodically seized the English people during the last three centuries. When our clear-sighted statesmen returned from Washington to inform their constituents that the Southern oligarchy had procured the aid of the dominant party

and of the administration to repeal the Missouri compromise, and spread slavery into all the free territories, they had to listen to some cock-and-bull story about the insidious plots of the pope and his cardinals. When they were assured that their watchword must now be "Free Soil for Free Men," they shouted in response "America for the Americans!" "Put none but Americans on guard!" It was the children of Israel over again receiving Moses descending from Mount Sinai, glowing with the lightnings of heaven, with feastings and dancing around the golden calf.

This curious excitement was however symptomatic of the changing epoch, of the complete disintegration of the old parties and the crystallization of new ones. While it lasted it had the force of a cyclone. It broke down the prestige of the Democratic party in Maine, and in all the North; it bore a Know-Nothing governor, council and legislature into the old Boston State House. But it culminated the first year; it was visibly dead the second year, and to have been a member of a Know-Nothing lodge was a reproach and political impediment ever afterward.

The intervention of "Americanism" was a preparation for the formation of the Republican party, of which the Free-Soilers were the nucleus, and the antislavery Democrats with the mass of the Northern Whigs were the working body. Mr. Pike gave early if not the first advice to meet the combination of Southern Democrats and Southern Whigs by a counter combination. In his "Tribune" leader of January 26, 1854, from which I have already quoted, he said:—

There has been no time during the last seven years when the Whig and Free-Soil parties have not been in a clear majority in nearly all the Northern states. The presidential election of 1848, and the congressional elections of 1850, furnish the only grounds of any just judgment as to the real strength of the antislavery sentiment in the country; and these elections justify the statement that in every free state that sentiment, whenever it could be fairly reached, would prove to be predominant.

Assuming this to be so, the only question to be answered is, whether that sentiment can be aroused and consolidated, and brought to bear in solid phalanx against the atrocious proposition in question. The fools in Washington believe it cannot. We believe it can. And we believe further, that this is by no means the whole strength of the North that will be brought into the field against this infamous project. We shall

have the whole conservative force of the free states of all parties against it. We shall have all the men who do not believe in repudiating solemn engagements on the side of earnest opposition. Fair dealing and honest purposes will everywhere frown upon such faithlessness and fraud. Sober minded men who have leaned to the side of the South in the late contests, on the ground that the abolitionists were the aggressors, will turn and resist this movement as a gross outrage and aggression on the part of the South.

The whole conservative force of the free states was not sufficient to carry the election of 1856 against the slave power, which through the four years of Mr. Buchanan's administration steadily obstructed the freedom of Kansas, and endeavored by a decision of the supreme court to nationalize slavery, and make it a recognized basis of the republic, so that whatever unfriendly local legislation might do in any state, the national ægis should everywhere cover the audacious claim of the planter to be the owner of his fellow-man. In 1860, however, this new political combination seized the advantage thrown in its way by the conspiracy, already plotting secession and disunion, and elected Mr. Lincoln president, with a house of representatives to support his administration. The withdrawal of Southern senators left the national legislature for nearly twenty years in the control of the Northern states, and the war, emancipation, conquest and reconstruction followed in rapid succession.

In the distribution of the important offices under the new administration, Mr. Pike was tendered and accepted the important position of United States minister at the Hague. There was a general displacement of the executive officers of the government, checked and delayed by no protest from any quarter; civil service reform had not dawned upon the reformatory mind. The Democrats submitted to the turning out with great good nature as a part of the game they had played and lost, and would have laughed at any scruples on the part of their opponents, as if one should jump in checkers and not take up his man. Even under the strictest civil-service-reform regime, the greatest portion of the old Democratic office-holders would have been removable, as "offensive partisans"; for they had not only served their party by electioneering and caucus manipulating, but what was far worse, they had systematically corrupted and debauched the public mind by palliating and defending the criminality of human

slavery. The only other instance in his long political life, that Mr. Pike attempted to appropriate to himself the emoluments and honors of office, was when he ran as the Whig candidate in the then called sixth district of Maine, always strongly Democratic, against the sitting member, T. J. D. Fuller, and came within less than a hundred votes of an election.

The diplomatic service during the civil war was a service of great importance and responsibility. A consternation seized the Federal government, when early in the struggle it became apparent that England, the old champion of emancipation, and France, our old ally in the revolutionary war, and all the great powers with the exception of Russia, were against us. The blockade of Southern ports, which the president had proclaimed, was a serious hindrance to neutral commerce, and Great Britain, especially interested in her cotton supply, was strongly disposed to question our right to impose it. After our rights as belligerents were conceded, the legality of the blockade followed, and we were not interfered with in maintaining it, except by lawless persons at their own risk. Without its strict enforcement it is plain to see the rebellion would have triumphed. Beside this, foreign sympathy with the confederates, prompted acts of aid by supply of arms and ships, and by allowing our captured merchantmen to be taken into neutral ports. When done by private persons unlawfully, we could not complain, but when permitted and encouraged by governments with which we were at peace, we could and did complain, and ultimately demanded and obtained indemnity.

In all the protests and complaints of unfriendly acts, in all the representations of the strictly defensive and constitutional character of our warfare upon our former fellow-citizens, Mr. Pike joined with our able ministers at other foreign courts, and though Louis Napoleon only waited the assent of England to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the South, and England herself was on the very eve of declaring war for the seizure of Mason and Slidell, through their good management and the wise caution of Mr. Seward, foreign complications were disentangled, and we were left to handle our big and bloody job by ourselves. Mr. Pike's own beneficent agency is shown in the fact that the government of Holland, to which he was accredited, was the first government to take the position with regard to belligerent rights that the United States desired.

After four years' service, the employment becoming with the return of peace mere formality and the exchange of international civilities, Mr. Pike tired of it, and begged to be relieved. Upon the persuasion of Mr. Seward he prolonged his mission abroad to a term of five years in all, and returned home in June, 1866. Mrs. Mary Caroline Robbins, already mentioned, to whom I am indebted for an admirable sketch of her father's character and career, says:—

> I do not think the foreign life was ever very congenial to him. It was very hard for him to be absent from home. His mind was filled with anxiety about the war; and the politely hostile attitude of all foreigners during the contest was hard to bear.

Notwithstanding all the natural beauties he had seen abroad, intensely as he had enjoyed the society of cultivated and distinguished men in Holland and in England, as well as in this country, Mr. Pike loved his own state of Maine, and he dearly loved the rugged banks of the St. Croix river, upon which he was born. In the autumn of 1866, he bought the house of General Brewer, in Robbinston, known as the "Mansion House," where he spent the remainder of his days, amusing himself by improving and embellishing the grounds, clearing paths to the wooded bluffs, planting forest trees, and in amateur farming, in which he took great pleasure. The house, to which he added a piazza, commands a magnificient view of the bay of St. Andrews and of the spires of that city just seen above a jutting point of the New Brunswick shore. Mr. Pike usually kept a yacht for the use of his family and friends, and his wife soon learned to be a skillful and fearless manager of the graceful but treacherous birch canoe. Good sense and good taste and practical economy characterized all Mr. Pike's expenditures. He did not undertake to make an Italian villa or a seaside Queen Ann cottage of the capacious old tavern house which he had bought. He renovated and furnished its ample rooms and wide halls in a style entirely in keeping with the original structure. Here he stored his books and papers, and here he pursued, when he was in the mood for it, his literary and historical studies. Earlier than the summer birds he came every spring to this cherished residence, and he lingered, loth to leave it, after the snows of winter had warned him to migrate. Here he dispensed a liberal hospitality and kept open house for his

friends, and the friends and relatives of his wife. He knew how to entertain, giving his guests what was more choice than his generous table, his own society, and the pleasant reminiscences of his political and literary life.

Probably no years of Mr. Pike's life were more rationally and contentedly passed than those which intervened between the close of his public service abroad, and his death. The period of crisis in the country's history, whose development he had watched from his youth with patriotic solicitude, had passed. It had been a time of intense strain upon the vitality of hosts of men in the field and in the counsels of the nation. Fortunate were the men who had lived through it, and could watch the slow recuperation of the country after revolution and civil war. Mr. Pike never hesitated about the utility and necessity of those radical measures of reconstruction, which our new fathers of the republic applied to relieve the peril into which rebellion had plunged us; but like Seward, Chase, Andrew, Garrison, all the great antislavery leaders, he wished to be magnanimous in the great victory. Having beaten the slaveholders in arms, stripped them bare of their precarious wealth, their haughty pride, their unjust pretensions, he wished to conciliate their good-will and gain their own acquiescence in this beneficent defeat. He scorned the idea of keeping up irritating insults over a fallen foe, and playing out of time the note of sectional discord, to perpetuate the ascendency of a merely polemic faction. One of the tasks which he undertook and performed with characteristic thoroughness, was to devote one of the winter vacations of his retirement to studying the performance of the ex-slave as a legislator and a judge. He visited South Carolina, and in a series of masterly articles, printed in the "Tribune" and afterward published as a pamphlet entitled "A Prostrate State," he sketched with terrible realism a picture of the emancipated negro, ignorant alike of language and cleanliness, lounging over the damask upholstery of the state house, or shuffling listlessly to his meals in the interlude of legislative confiscation and plunder of his late master. The reader could not have told which was uppermost in the judicial mind of the vivid writer, contempt for the poor field-hand, attempting to play the roll of law-maker, commiseration for his outlawed master, or a grim humor that enjoyed the poetic justice of this reversal of

conditions. Every magnanimous Northern man could make his own reflections, and it cannot be doubted that the exhibition of Mr. Pike's picture did much to check the dominant party in a course of policy that was becoming fatal to the prosperity of both races, and to the real pacification of the South.

The carpet-bag legislature of South Carolina was the last affront a humane people could be brought to put upon a conquered foe that had made to them an unreserved submission; and under a juster policy Mr. Pike reverted to more personal studies. These were in the direction of historical investigation. He went to Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and patiently explored town and court records, and family annals and personal traditions, the result of which was the discovery among his own ancestry of a unique character, endowed with some of the mental traits and sagacious previsions that formed the basis of his own mind, and who, nearly two centuries ago, exemplified and maintained and suffered for the enlightened ideas of modern liberalism against an overwhelming tyranny of dogma that denied toleration to worship God, and maintained by capital punishment, coolly inflicted by legal tribunals with the sanction of the wise clergy and the public opinion of the time, the active agency of the devil in the eccentricities and the very convictions of good men and women. The permanent form which this literary labor took was a published volume called the "New Puritan," to which I have already made reference.

Soon after this publication in 1879, a larger work followed, called "First Blows of the Civil War," a summary of some of Mr. Pike's own best work in the "Tribune" and other journals, and a very interesting history of how the intellectual battle that preceded the battle of guns was conducted and lost.

Mr. Pike died November 24, 1882, at the age of seventy-one. He had closed his summer house rather later than usual, preparatory to his annual Southern migration. Without any warning to his family, without observed premonition of fatal illness, while spending the night with his wife at the hotel in Calais, whence he had expected to commence his Southern journey on the next day, he was seized with a sudden illness, of which, after a brief suffering, he expired.

He was twice married, first to Charlotte, daughter of Lemuel

Putnam Grosvenor, of Pomfret, Connecticut, a lady of great loveliness of character, by whom he had but one child, Mrs. Robbins, now of Hingham, Massachusetts, and second to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ellicot, formerly of Baltimore, Maryland, an accomplished lady, the appreciative and congenial companion of his more public and distinguished life, who still makes her home, during all but the winter season, in the house on the St. Croix, beautified and made attractive by their joint and accordant tastes.

To the character and public services of Mr. Pike, Charles A. Dana, his associate for many years in the editorial work of the "New York Tribune," pays this tribute: —

Among the many eminent men, upon whom death has recently laid his hand, none was more eminent or more admirable than the one who has now fallen. His age we do not know, but suppose it to have been about sixty-five. [Mr. Pike seemed to his intimate associates younger than he was.] For more than thirty years we have known him so intimately that we can testify to the worth, dignity and power of his character. He had a spontaneous admiration for all that was noble and generous, and a spontaneous contempt for all that was base and mean.

He was bred to commerce, and never enjoyed the advantage of a studious education; but his original talents, clear intuitions, virile and unsparing judgment, and picturesque and witty expression made him one of the most impressive and valuable public writers of the day. He was a regular contributor to the "Tribune" during the period of its greatest success, and since 1870 has written a great deal for the "Sun," both anonymously and with his own signature.

The independence of Mr. Pike's nature was such that he shunned rather than sought the distinction of public office. The only official post he ever occupied was that of minister to the Hague, to which he was appointed by President Lincoln, and in which he rendered valuable services during the continuance of the civil war. Since then he has lived in that part of the State of Maine, where his active career was mainly passed, his residence being at Robbinston, at the head of Passamaquoddy bay. The fertility of his mind was inspired by the ardor, sincerity and boldness of a heart whose warmth was never quenched. His friendships were cordial and lasting. Those who knew him best had loved him most truly.

He was a man, take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again.

Mr. Whitelaw Reid, while editing a Cincinnati journal, gave this testimony of the importance of Mr. Pike's newspaper work: —

Mr. Pike's letters between 1850 and 1860 exerted a marked influence upon public opinion, They were eagerly read, extensively quoted, and

threw not a little light on the secrets of legislation and the coming political action which prepared the way for the civil war. While acting as Washington correspondent, Mr. Pike was often behind the scenes, and was able to bring to the front important facts, which but for his vigilance and insight would have failed to see the light at the opportune moment. His comments on passing events were always sagacious, often profound, never superficial, and sometimes showing a far-reaching breadth of views, and a singular clearness of foresight and prediction.

In a notice simultaneous with his death, his brother, Hon. F. A. Pike, aptly says: —

Thoroughly conversant with public affairs and writing more or less about them for publication, he has been averse for many years to mingling actively in business or politics. He was peculiarly self-sustained, and lived his life in his own way, quite independent, so far as it is possible to be, of other people. Genial and happy in his mode of living, he was quite too busy with his own thoughts and his own employments to pay regard to what is called public opinion. The old inscription over the door of the independent man could have been written over his study, as truthfully descriptive of his inmost feeling: "They say. What say they! Let them say."

A well rounded life, subject to few disappointments and symmetrical to the end, with everything about him to enjoy, having accomplished his threescore years and ten without sickness, he ends his life in full vigor of mind and body. Such sudden deaths are terrible shocks to us who survive, but to those who go, they make an easy transit to the other world.

Mr. Pike's estimable daughter, Mrs. Robbins of Hingham, to whom I have before alluded, touches her father's public labors and personal character with more delicate and tender appreciation. I cannot more fitly close this sketch than by reproducing her graphic deliniations: —

My father's political letters speedily attracted the attention of public men; and he became acquainted during his stay in Washington, with almost all the leading men with whom he was in political sympathy. With some of these he formed abiding friendships. Truman Smith of Connecticut, William Pitt Fessenden, John Davis of Massachusetts, Chief Justice Chase, Secretaries Corwin and Seward, and others, among whom was the able and eccentric Count Gurowski, held him in high esteem. "I never meet your father," said Mr. Fessenden, once to me, "without getting something from him — I like to hear Pike's views." Both Mr. Greeley and Mr. Dana recognized early the rare qualities of his understanding, and enjoyed his fearless expression of opinion. To me the most remarkable quality of my father's mind was his independent

spirit. He is the only man I ever knew sincerely indifferent to the world's opinion. Absolutely self-reliant, confiding wholly in his own shrewd judgment — which justified his faith in it — honest in acts as in conviction, fearing no man, scorning favor, he went straight forward, doing what seemed to him right, undeterred in little things, by Philistine disapproval or, in political matters, by the unpopularity of his views. This he showed when he dared to criticise Mr. Webster's position on the fugitive slave bill in such terms that the publishers of the "Boston Atlas" declined the letters, with the sentiments of which, however, Mr. Schouler, the editor, as shown in their correspondence, was in entire accord.

My father was first a Whig — always an out-and-out Free-Soiler — and joined the Republican party at its very beginning. Mr. Fessenden has told me that on one occasion, in a convention, my father was warned to avoid agitation, and replied: — "But I will agitate"; and the answer, Mr. Fessenden said, indicated his characteristic attitude.

He saw clearly the consequences to which many were blind. He was called a disunionist, because for ten years before the war, he denounced the tendencies of the South in the direction of disunion.

My father enjoyed London particularly, and I have heard him say that were he condemned to exile from his own country, it was in London he would make his home. He explored it thoroughly and enjoyed it keenly. His diplomatic work gave him entrance to many pleasant houses, among them that of Lord Palmerston, in which he had opportunity to meet many distinguished men. He once visited Carlyle in his own house in Cheyne Row, and described him with characteristic picturesqueness. It had not been my father's purpose to call upon the sage of Chelsea, but one night while attending one of Charles Dickens' dramatic readings, he was attracted by the appearance of an old man, of striking aspect, who sat on the front benches, listening apparently with gleeful absorption, and fairly leading the applause, by slapping his knees with his old felt hat, and laughing loudly at every telling point. Dickens was evidently reading to him. My father had not then seen Carlyle, but putting one thing and another together, he hazarded the conjecture that the amused old man could be no other than he. He was so pleased with this touch of humanity, that he concluded to go and see the great man, and writing a note explaining what had encouraged him to ask permission to visit him, Mr. Carlyle promptly invited him to tea. Returning afterward to London, my father renewed his visits to the famous house, and listened to the wonderful talk, which, according to his report, sounded exactly like the printed pages of the great scholar and writer.

The late Queen of Holland, a woman of unusual powers of mind, seemed to enjoy my father's conversation, and sometimes sent for him to take tea with her at the palace. He found her very frank and her disclosures and comments upon the character and conduct of royal personages — among them Queen Victoria and the Emperors Nicholas and Napoleon III — not a little amusing. He traveled extensively in Holland,

investigating its dykes and polders, its agricultural operations and model farms. He always took a great interest in farming everywhere, and made careful observation of the methods of different countries and districts.

While in London he often visited the houses of parliament, and thought much closer attention was paid to the conduct of business by the commons than by the American representatives in congress. The time was favorable to listen to the great debates, D'Israeli being the leader of the opposition, supported by Mr. Lowe, while John Bright and Richard Cobden were prominent among the Liberals. His letters of that period, not now in my possession, I remember well as of uncommon interest, descriptive, as they are, of the visits to Lord Brougham at his house, and to the late Duke of Argyle, one of the few friends of America among the English nobility during our civil war.

In his domestic life my father was most genial. His conversation was full of interest, and a dry and original humor made his comments on persons and things highly entertaining. In what he said there was always the piquancy of unexpectedness, and commonplaces never interested him. He told a story well, and the local, homely anecdotes, of which he had a store, had good point and obvious application. His perceptions were very quick, and his insight rapid and correct. He hated nothing so much as a bore, and it must be said he was a person whom it was not hard to bore. To younger people he was kind, even affectionate, and always happy when providing for their pleasure. Nothing pleased him more than to surround himself with lively girls, with whom he was always a favorite.

To the poor he was largely generous, though his benevolence was quiet and unconventional. He declined to join in public charities, but his neighbors, who were in need, used to receive annally at his hands barrels of flour and a supply of warm clothing for winter. He had many friends among the Passamaquoddy Indians, who knew they could come to him for gifts of money to supply a want, or help in the execution of some little project. He had for a neighbor an Irishman, old and lame, whom he kept supplied with donkeys to draw his little cart, and so enabled him to eke out a meager living. Many of his charities were so unobtrusive, that his own family only learned of them from the recipients.

He was a man of strong and sometimes unreasonable prejudices, though his judgments were mainly accurate and moderate. No show deceived him, and no fine words could hide from him a false heart. He was a firm believer in transmitted qualities of race, and had a habit of tracing the character of the younger generations to their ancestors whom he had known. His own traits were unique, and difficult to describe, nor would it be easy to determine to what combination of ancestral qualities to attribute them. Ambition failed to torment him. He had no thirst for wealth. He sought no worldly distinction. Indifferent to blame or praise he calmly pursued his way. Shrewd in business, as in his other ca-

pacities, having early secured a moderate competence, he worked only at his own good pleasure, and when he loved the thing to be done. Steady employment, hack labor was irksome to him. He always seemed satisfied with his fortune, and exempt from uneasy desires for something he had not. After the age of forty-five — at the very period when the passion of thrift seizes the general mind — he seemed to stand aloof from the rushing current of American life, and to have learned to rest. He never impressed one as having put forth his whole strength, and his reserve of physical and mental force remained unexhausted to the last. If in his day he did not accomplish more, it seemed rather from lack of desire than of power. He was one of the few men who can live their lives according to their wish and plan, and he attained the best gift of life in attaining content. His death, sudden, almost painless, seemed of all others best fit to round his days.

THE PROBLEM OF HAMMOND'S FORT.

RICHARD HAMMOND, HIS HOME AND DEATH.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 28, 1885.

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER.

ACCURATE history is gained by toilsome work. Often the prize is long delayed. Especially does local history require minute and exacting research. In the historic field much can never be gleaned; some that is gleaned will never be soundly threshed, that the grain may appear; but always the chaff and the wheat must have patient and laborious siftings.

Dimness and uncertainty overspread many historic fields. Upon many points the light will never shine in. Upon others, after delay, the parted clouds let down the sunshine. Positive results are peculiarly grateful.

A point of our Kennebec history, hitherto befogged in uncertainty or adjudged to hopeless dispute, demands a re-examination. Past discussions have not to every one yielded satisfactory results. A new theory, disruptive of old foundations, has met with stubborn incredulity. Old opinions, driven deep by frequent iteration, held or strengthened under the shadows of honored historical names, are not easily uprooted.

It became the privilege of the writer several years since[1] to put forth and support a new theory upon this drifting and undetermined problem. Evidence previously unknown was presented. Some accepted the proof as amply sufficient; others, held by the grip and fascination of old tradition, doubted.

A final solution of the problem is now attempted. In enlarging the former proofs a restatement of the case and the evidence is necessary. The line of evidence invites the most exacting scrutiny, the most crucial tests, and an impartial judgment.

The question re-opened for examination, is simply, The Location of the Establishment of Richard Hammond.

[1] Vide Am. Sentinel, Bath, 1877, Nov. 8; and 1878, Aug. 22.

Of this man, little is known, save that he was early engaged in the fur trade on the Kennebec, and fell a victim to savage rancor in the first Indian war.

(1) IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM.

This tragedy at Hammond's bore relations to current events which have given it a noticeable prominence in local and general history. A large portion of the writers who have sketched the early history of Maine have included it. This emphatic recognition it has gained by reason of connection with King Philip's war. It was for the territory of the Kennebec, the first bloodshed of that vengeful crusade.

In 1675, savage hostilities swept through the New England settlements; "a war, on the part of the Indians, of ambuscades and surprises."[1] Deerfield, Hadley, Groton, are suggestive names, even now recalling fiend-like atrocities. The Piscataqua, the Saco, the Presumpscot, witnessed the stealthy attack, and the revolting deeds of pitiless foes.

But eastward of Falmouth no lives were sacrificed. The rifling of Mr. Purchase's house by New Meadows river, the threats and insolence of the Indians, disclosed their hostile temper. Great alarm was felt on the Kennebec. Settlers and traders were anxious, watchful; but conciliatory measures prevailed. Friendly relations were ratified at Arrowsic, in native style and by a dance, by the old sachem Robinhood.

But in the next year the repressed storm of war burst upon the eastern settlements. It swept pitilessly over Casco neck and vicinity. This was August 11, 1676. At least thirty-four persons suffered death or captivity. Two days later, upon the Kennebec, by other parties, the vindictive work of bloodshed and rapine was begun. Here the first blow struck was at the house of Richard Hammond. It was the signal and the example for the eastern natives to exact full payment for alleged wrongs. From this murderous affray, they fiercely pushed on, and in a brief period had swept all clean from Casco bay to the Penobscot. This sacking of Hammond's trading post was the initial blow in the eastern parts, of the desolating scourge of 1676. It therefore may have befitting distinction. Any new facts, now obtainable, may demand attention. Nor are we be-

[1] Bancroft's History, U. S.

stowing time and labor on a mere historical straw in seeking to determine the very spot. And further, that the locality is a disputed one, is singularly assigned to so many points, makes a valid claim that the true contestant for the honor — if such it be — should be ascertained if possible.

It is a unique circumstance that an event of history should get lodgment by the voice of tradition in three different places. It is still more surprising that a fourth location should come forward as competitor of the others, and found its claim not on popular traditions, of which it has not a shadow, but on historical and documentary proof. By some enigmatical movements, Hammond's fort, as a waif on the drift of the tide, has been cast up at four points on the banks of the Kennebec waters. These are: —

1 At Stinson's point, once so called, which without question is at Potter's mills, on the west side of Arrowsic island.

2 At Spring cove, on the northeast shore of Arrowsic, just below the Hell-gate passage.

3 At the ancient Teconnet in Winslow, at the confluence of the Sebasticook with the Kennebec.

4 Contesting the former traditionary locations, in Woolwich, at the head of Long Reach, in the Kennebec.

Our problem deals with this estray, which in our sympathy for a wanderer, we would lead to its true and only home.

(2) THE VOICE OF HISTORY.

Written history has preserved certain facts, meager indeed; has also put on record popular traditions, after they have floated, often re-shaped meanwhile, along the course of several generations.

The original story, which for the facts of the case, is alone worthy of credence, is found in "Hubbard's Indian Wars." This work was published the year following the war. He wrote when the incidents detailed were fresh, and from information furnished, as he says, "by those intimately acquainted therewith."

His account briefly stated is this: Indians visit Hammond's one evening; a girl, daughter or servant, suspicious and alarmed, slips outside; she is calmed and brought back by the wily savages; others arrive, more suspicious conduct; the girl, further terrified, escapes and hides in a field of corn; hears a noise, scuffling and outcries; then flees to Sheepscot river. Later reports show that

Hammond and two others were killed and the rest made captives. Hubbard further details how the savages next made themselves masters of Clarke and Lake's garrison, which we well know, and which he definitely shows, was located on Arrowsic island. But he indicates scarcely in the least the geography of the region. He refers to Hammond, simply as an "ancient inhabitant and trader with the Indians up the Kennebec."

Yet he employs a few phrases which hint at the localities. He tells that after the sacking at Hammond's, and before the next attack, the Indians had "in the night passed over on the island called Arrowsic;" also "passed down the river." Hence Hammond was located northward or up river from the other. This language has also plain implications that the savages were not on Arrowsic in their first mischief, but went down river and passed on to the island before daybreak, when they seized the second fort. Hubbard likewise writes that the fugitive girl from the cornfield "ran over the land that night to give notice" to them at Sheepscot river. No crossing of such waters as intervene in the journey from Arrowsic to Sheepscot; no finding a canoe providentially; but simply a flight by land. These statements show Hubard's idea of these adjacent locations.

It can be objected that he misapprehended them, though his informant knew them well. If so, a better informed witness appears. Francis Card, made captive as the Indians retired up river from Hammond's, escaped and carried intelligence to Boston. His statement can now be seen in the Massachusetts archives. Card relates that while some came and took him and family, "the rest of their company went to Arrowsic, and there took the garrison." A resident, near and familiar with the places, he says, "went to Arrowsic." Common or ignorant people would make no mistake in using that expression. It can mean nothing else than that the Indians were not on the island in the first instance, but went thither. The ordinary meaning of words cannot be evaded. Therefore this historian's incidental references and the direct testimony of the captive Card, give evidence against the Arrowsic location.

Governor Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts Bay," supports the above conclusion,[1] whatever the source of his infor-

[1] Page 346.

mation, in a brief sentence, "They surprised the house of Mr. Hammond, an ancient trader at Kennebec, and from thence crossed over to Arrowsic island." He understood that the first murderous assault was not on the island.

Such is the evidence of early writers, one contemporary with the event, and writing immediately after. I must believe, if no other evidence or statements were in existence, the universal conclusion would be that the massacre at Hammond's occurred elsewhere than on the Arrowsic.

Nearly a century and a quarter after the war, appeared Governor Sullivan's "History of the District of Maine." In this and a historical sketch elsewhere, the affair at Hammond's is repeated with enlargements. His statements have all the indications of being the gathering of traditions. On one page of his history, he writes that the descent was made upon Hammond's one Sunday morning when the people were at their devotion.[1] Directly over against it on the other page, he quotes Hubbard's statements, and among them that the attack occurred in the evening; but he neither certifies his own, nor challenges the other, and seems to be unconscious of the contradiction. However, he is explicit in regard to the location, "at Stinson's point, on Arrowsic island,"[2] "on the east bank of the river and on the west side of the island."[3] There can be no question about his meaning. Indeed, when General Joseph Sewall sketched the history of Bath,[4] and of course introduced this noted opening of Philip's war, he undoubtedly followed Sullivan, and interpreted him by giving the local name then in use, Potter's mills, as Sullivan had employed the name common in his day, Stinson's point. The Stinson emigrants located at this place, and possessed these lands many years. This designation cannot be consistently applied on the west side of the island elsewhere.

The authority of Judge Sullivan, based on alleged good opportunities, has been largely conceded in this matter. The existence in his day of an account, definite as to circumstances and locality, which he wrote out, has led many to feel there must have been fact behind the story, and therefore his version has had large acceptance. With regrets that it is true and that it need to be

[1] Page 172.

[2] Mass. Hist. Coll., series i, vol. i, p. 251. [3] Dist. Maine, page 173.

[4] Me. Hist. Col., vol. ii, p. 192.

adduced it must be affirmed, our historian did make so many mistakes in the history of "Old Georgetown," that his reliability and authority has been seriously weakened.

For further citations, a step forward is taken, to the widely known work of R. K. Sewall, Esq., "The Ancient Dominions." Here comes into view a new location of Hammond's fort, at Spring cove, on northeastern Arrowsic. The author challenges neither Judge Sullivan nor General Sewall. He simply affirms the location, and has stoutly maintained it to the present, as a tradition delivered to him.[1]

Recently a third contestant has come to the front. A local writer[2] assigns a new site for the trading post of Hammond, the ancient "Teconnet," in Winslow. Here it is said Hammond had his house, here trafficked, and here met his death.

These three places and claims stand side by side in respect to source and authority. It can be confidently asserted that they are wholly drawn from traditions which have floated down the generations. This is quite certain for the first, and is admitted for the other two. In our ignorance of the channels, we might regard the one given by Sullivan as the most valuable, because in appearance the oldest. The two Arrowsic locations may be diverging branches from a common trunk. But here are three candidates for our suffrages; three opinions from which to select and adopt one; three localities for one historic event. To support them, there is evidently not a scrap of documentary evidence. I believe I make no unwarranted statement. Each rests wholly on the old story, which the father told his son, the ancient settler gave to his successor.

Probably the claim for the site at Potter's mills has rather fallen into the background; that at Spring cove is gaining more of the popular attention and acceptance, because frequently brought to the public notice. The Teconnet site is but little known. Yet, emphatically, error must have crept in somewhere, to locate an ancient trading post at three diverse points.

But confusion and perplexity may well increase when a fourth location is added. Maine's second historian, the careful and thorough Williamson, mentions Hammond's fort four times. But

[1] Page 159.

[2] Am. Antiquarian, April, 1883.

for once he trips. He refers it first to Spring cove on Arrowsic.[1] This is, however, merely an incidental reference for which his overburdened notebook is responsible, as some of his correspondents doubtless sent him the story. But when he narrates the affair fully, after examining, as we must suppose, all the then existing details, he assigns it to Woolwich. He locates the unknown "Stinson's point," in that town.[2] The name of the town, put in brackets, indicates his own opinion, not a basis of reported fact. No such "point" has ever been recognized in Woolwich. My belief is that Williamson saw the bearing of Hubbard's statements; saw that the expressions, "went to Arrowsic," "passed over on to the island," absolutely demanded the location of this fort on lands adjacent to, but not on, Arrowsic. Finding no proof to the contrary, but Sullivan's *dictum*, he overruled that writer's designation, assigned the event to Woolwich, and transported the name of the point also to that adjacent town. This accurate historian's location, therefore, is simply a conclusion from the general tenor of the early narrations.

All subsequent writers may be summarily dismissed. They have only retold the story; have brought out no new facts, nor aided at all to locate the tragedy.

Such conflict of historical authority is diverting, as well as confusing. A traveler finding at the four corners the guide-post, and seeing that each of the four finger-boards tells him that the town he seeks lies in that particular direction, would be in a pitiable perplexity. We would like to find Hammond's fort. It is a historical necessity. It will assure our own satisfaction and save our children from wrangling. But thus far there is only obscurity or confusion.

Some gain might accrue by weighing probabilities. Whose historical authority is the best? Who most likely to get at the facts? Which location will best agree with the incidents reported? Is it Arrowsic, east or west? is it Winslow or Woolwich? Such discussion, however, would yield no decisive results, but might strengthen some one of the theories. Thus written history, and all information known to exist till recently, gives to this problem no solution, final and satisfactory. An important

[1] Hist. of Me., vol. i, pp. 53, 331.

[2] Hist. of Me., pp. 525, 535.

historical event is, in this truth-loving age, dragged into a hopeless muddle of authorities.

Without according undue importance to this matter, giving it only the place it may properly claim among the initial strokes of the first Indian war, it is with some reasonable gratification that I find myself able to present new evidence. A clew, which chanced to fall into my hands, has been followed intently. It has led me to treasures of facts hitherto unknown and unsuspected. Of what value to this confused problem, a candid judgment will determine. This evidence is wholly from our public repositories of records and documents.

(3) HAMMOND'S FARM.

Ordinarily a man lives where his business interests are. The ownership and improvement of land will in a large majority of cases determine a man's home. Judge Sullivan wrote that it could not be ascertained that Hammond ever owned any lands. On the contrary, documents show that he was a large landholder.

Lawsuits are proverbially stigmatized as vexatious and unprofitable. Indirect benefits have, nevertheless, flowed from them. They have occasioned the storing up of a large amount of valuable materials of history, for the use of the present, as of future generations. But for litigation on a disputed land-title, no further light would ever have shone into that confusion and darkness already exhibited respecting Hammond's fort. I draw from records and court files such facts as are required for elucidating this notable case, and finding a home for this wanderer.

In the year 1648, one James Smith purchased of the native sachem, Robinhood, an extensive tract of land in present Woolwich, measured on the Kennebec shore from Winslow's rock in Long Reach, northward to the Chops.[1] About a dozen years of occupation had passed, when he died leaving a wife and young children. Previously a claimant had disputed his title to his farm.[2] In process of time, perhaps speedily, this lone widow in the wilderness found another protector and husband in this very Richard Hammond. The tragic event already detailed made her a second time a widow. We are told by herself in a petition to Governor Andros,[3] that the establishment

[1] Drake's Book of the Indians, p. 284. [2] Lincoln Co. Deeds, vol. 1, p. 19.
[3] Mass. Hist. Col. 33, vol. vii, p. 181. [4] York Co. Deeds, vol. xx: 22.

at the time of her husband's death, comprised mills, a smith's shop, and other buildings. Subsequently a third husband cheers and protects this unfortunate woman, Captain John Rowdon of the Sagadahoc militia. In due time both paid the debt to nature, whether under the savages' tomahawk or by ordinary causes of death, none can tell.

Upon this large farm, the west part of Woolwich, James Smith lived and died. In the next century, his heirs appealed to the law in defense of their title. By this was disclosed Hammond's relation to the family of James Smith, and also his ownership of land.

From the evidence presented in this suit at law, in 1737, I take the deposition of Sarah Elkins, the daughter of Robert Gutch, Bath's pioneer minister: —

> I do well remember James Smith more than seventy years past, and that the said Smith did dwell on a very large farm situate on the east side of Kennebec river, running from Merry Meeting bay down the said river unto Back Cove road, which was generally called in former days and accounted to be five miles of land fronting the said river, and after the decease of the said James Smith, then the widow of the said Smith married with one Richard Hammons, and then the land was called Hammons land, . . .[1]

Likewise John Dale testifies and says: —

> That he well remembers one Hammonds, who lived on the eastward side of Kennebec river, with whom this deponent served his apprenticeship, which Hammonds, as he was informed, married the widow of James Smith, who lived on a large farm on the eastern side of Kennebec river and possessed it in his own right, as this deponent always understood, though after said Smith's widow married with said Mr. Hammonds, it was called Hammonds' farm.[1]

He further describes the farm as extending from a creek by Merry Meeting hill, to another river parting the farm from Arrowsic island, thence by Nequasset river and by the falls to the pond, and along the pond, including a great meadow, which the said Hammonds improved for many years by cutting and making the hay. He also declares his knowledge of two persons, recently deceased, James and Hazadiah Smith, that they formerly lived with him in the same house with their mother Hammonds, who always acknowledged them as her sons.

Here are decisive points; a large farm, definitely bounded;

[1] York Co. Deeds, vol. xx: 22.

Smith its owner and resident on it; known first as Smith's farm, and then as Hammond's. But the deponent fails to say in exact terms that Hammond did dwell on it. That, however, is the plainest implication. Indeed he employed the same ex-expression, "on the eastward side of Kennebec river," to show where Hammond lived, as where Smith lived. He knew no name to apply to this tract, and must designate it in that way; but mentioning Arrowsic as he does, a definite locality and name, he would have used it, had Hammond lived on the island. Indeed peculiar circumstances must have obtained, if this man, marrying a wife possessed of a farm five miles in extent, and himself owning an adjacent track at Nequasset,[1] should remove his new wife and children to occupy leased land on Arrowsic. Ordinarily the man who marries a widow with half a dozen children and many thousand acres of land, finds sufficient incumbrances to settle him on the spot; and Hammond could not have had any estate on Arrowsic, for Clarke and Lake, its owners, held and improved it wholly for themselves, and gave no title nor conveyance of a single acre.

A large number of instances might be cited from Hubbard and others, where "Kennebeck," "at Kennebec," "on Kennebec river," seems to denote a particular place, in distinction from Arrowsic. The latter was a name and place definite and well known; other points had no names, or none in common use. Therefore this indefinite designation, "on Kennebec river," was employed. Still these cases are not sufficiently clear and consistent always to have much weight as evidence. These depositions and connected facts alone would locate Hammond's home and trading post on this large farm.

(4) HAMMOND'S HEAD.

A pioneer settler, such as Smith, would beyond question place his dwelling by the river. Smith's southern boundary was over against Winslow's rock.[2] We should expect to find his home north of that point on the east side of the river. Evidence of the location appears in the conveyance of the Bath tract to Gutch. The eastern boundary is defined, "to run upward to the water's

[1] The aboriginal name of Woolwich, or precisely that part about Nequasset pond and stream and bay.

[2] A noted ledge in the Kennebec between Bath and Woolwich perilous to navigation.

side towards James Smith's."[1] His house, therefore, was a distant object observed in laying out this land. Certainly it was above Winslow's rock, for Gutch's land lay south of that, as Smith's did north. A glance now upward along the city wharf-line will show the pertinence of the description. Yet this distant landmark, visible as the language clearly implies, stood on the other side of the river. So these informed deponents testify. Quite certainly no other mark of civilization lay in that direction, and it was chosen though across the river. The curve made the opposite shore prominent. If Smith's establishment, as this expression demands, was in view, then this trivial clause in Gutch's conveyance will definitely locate Smith on the northeastern shore of Long Reach.

Hammond became Smith's successor in marital bonds. The farm then took his name. Previously, without doubt, he had lived as an unsettled fur trader. Now he takes upon him the care of a family and landed estates. Is any supposition or conclusion allowable, except on positive evidence, but that Hammond now entered the former family home? Indeed an item in proof appears. In the suit at law for the defense of this estate, the writ recites the title[2]: —

> Now the plaintiff in fact saith, that James Smith his grandfather, late of a place called Long Reach, alias, Hammond's Head by Kennebec river, in said county of York, yeoman, deceased, was in his lifetime seized of said tract of land: &c."

This is decisive. Smith dwelt by the river, and at a place called Long Reach. The place moreover is denoted by the name "Hammond's Head," some point on the shore of Long Reach. The name had at some time been applied. It was a locality on this large farm called "Hammond's farm." It must then have been originated and fixed in popular use by the fact of this trader's residence at this place. Can any incredulous objector, if candid, say otherwise? Such origin of local names is certified by numerous instances along this river and elsewhere. Thus, Thornton's head, Clapp's point, Trott's neck, Preble's point, Jones' eddy, Lee's island, Parker's head, Cox's head, Hunnewell's point, in every instance the man was located there to plant the name. World-wide geography asserts this universal law. Discovery in

[1] Vide Anc. Dominions, p. 134.

[2] York Co. Court Files.

unknown latitudes, some distinguishing event, or residence, affixes a person's name.

One Richard Hammond was known as a fur trader on the Kennebec; he possessed by himself and by right of marriage, a large tract of land; he had somewhere a defensible residence or fort. Now at a certain eligible site on the river-front of that farm, which embraced the western part of Woolwich, is found a local name, "Hammond's head." Every conclusion will associate the two, the man and this spot; there was his home, his fort, his business. Only valid proof can show the contrary; certainly a floating tradition, catching here and there from Arrowsic to Teconnet, cannot do it. A mill and a blacksmith's shop were adjuncts of the establishment. Samuel Smith, the wife's son, suffered the same fate as his step-father. The family, including workmen and servants, numbered sixteen when the savages struck their treacherous blow. Thus all the family and business interests were represented at this fort. Certainly it could not have been miles away from the farm.

I have thus stated anew the line of evidence, presented several years ago in support of a new theory, which to some seemed exotic and presumptuous. The theory is sustained by this array of circumstantial evidence, and direct proofs, cogent, agreeing, cumulative. This evidence begins in the statements of Hubbard and the captive Francis Card, "went to Arrowsic," "over on to the island," and in the flight of the frightened girl, "over the land," not by the night crossing perilous waters, greatly enhancing the hazardous and noteworthy exploit. It continues in the facts which show the ownership of land by Smith, then by his successor, Hammond; Smith's dwelling at Long Reach, and that place of his residence afterward known as Hammond's head. Contemporary history and the public records furnish these proofs. None are traditional. The force of such evidence cannot be evaded. The positive averment that Hammond did live and die at this place which bore his name is alone lacking. But every probability, arising in the circumstances and the facts adduced, compels the conclusion that at the head of Long Reach in the Kennebec, the vengeful savages struck their murderous blow, and relighted the torch of Philip's war.

Against this conclusive evidence, there stands up nothing but

tradition, unsupported now by a single circumstance, the drifting story of two centuries, which, misshapen, divided, dispersed, has been cast up by the tide at three different places. Two of the three must be wholly worthless. Why not the third also, when contested by such a rival?

The case might be rested here, a fair-minded jury would not hesitate in their finding. Yet the stories which the fathers and mothers told are precious; the unyielding grip of preconceptions is unsuspected. Some are evidently still in doubt whether this arrayed evidence has equal weight with unattested, antagonistic traditions, whose ghost-like shadows yet linger in quiet Arrowsic and ancient Teconnet.

(5) FURTHER EVIDENCE.

It is my gratification to add further proof to secure final moorings for this spectral Hammond's fort, floating hopelessly up and down the Kennebec.

Escape from the conclusion to which the foregoing evidence leads, will by some be found in the assumption, that though this trader held such relations to Woolwich lands, and left his name affixed there, yet he did not necessarily dwell on that farm, or having dwelt there for a time, he removed to some other place, before that perfidious assault. It is granted that either of these suppositions is barely possible, but candor will say in view of all the facts, that they are exceedingly improbable. Reasons very strong alone would have induced Hammond to remove his new family to another home; far stronger reasons must have prevailed later, if he abandoned this extensive property and built and fortified elsewhere. Conditions not to be detailed here, obviously would have debarred him from Arrowsic, for its owners sold no portion of it.

It may be held that the argument from meager facts locating the so-called Hammond's head is weak and the conclusion shadowy, but a witness now offers testimony. It is Captain Samuel Harnden, a pioneer in the second settlement. He aided in building, in 1721, one of the first houses in Bath. Later he became one of the proprietors, who bought out the Smith heirs. He built his garrison at the head of Long Reach, on his selected portion of the company's lands, and his mortal dust rests near the

spot. He was in the best condition to learn the former history of the settlements on the Kennebec. As one of the purchasers of the Smith title to Woolwich lands, he could hardly have failed of acquaintance with those heirs, and the surviving sons of James Smith, one of whom lived fifteen years after Harnden came to Maine, and almost to the date of the lawsuit before mentioned. Men born on this farm, and others contemporary with Hammond, could have given him information. His sources of information were therefore direct and positive.

In 1767, he conveyed a portion of his large farm to Jabez Bradbury, Esq. The deed,[1] [as seen in the Lincoln registry], recites the boundaries, in part, in these terms: —

> From said red oak westerly to a stake and stones in a small piece of marsh land; thence on said Kennebec river southerly to the mouth of a spring that empties itself into the river, above Hammond's head so called; and thence up said stream or spring to the head of the spring; and thence to the bounds first mentioned.

This statement from such a qualified witness must be decisive and final as to "Hammond's head." It was a locality upon this farm of Harnden's, which comprised the lands now surrounding and including the present village of Day's Ferry.[2]

The topography as above indicated will not now positively locate Hammond's head, but points quite decisively to Narrow's point at the gateway of the Kennebec as it presses boiling into Long Reach, which presents a perpendicular cliff some sixty feet high against the water, and slopes back to the marsh and cove. Upon this small peninsula, on its elevation, or at the shore, or a short distance east upon Burial point, where Captain Harnden built his garrison, all probabilities will place the fortified house of Richard Hammond. This documentary proof establishes beyond question the *locus* of Hammond's head — the name pointing back to the man, his home and his work, and advancing our obscure problem toward solution.

A further step is however possible. Two other documents used in that suit at law have come forth from their hiding-place in the court files of York county. They should have been in my hands many years ago. I was told that no papers referring to this case were on file. A recent search disclosed them. This

[1] Linco'n Co Deeds, vol. v: 229.

[2] Now West Woolwich post-office.

particular package bore marks of unwonted exposure to the weather and water, and they were frail and crumbling in the hand, yet wholly legible. They yield precise and valuable information concerning this massacre at Hammond's.

First is a deposition by one Deborah Burnet, who was a granddaughter of Rev. Robert Gutch. She testifies in these words: —

About sixty years ago she lived at Kennebeck River; when for fear of the Indians she went with her parents to the garrison at Arrowsic; that some time after she was there, she was taken by the Indians and afterwards put in a canoe, and landed at a place on Kennebeck River, called Hamonds, where she saw one Mrs. Hamonds and two of her children, called Heredial Smith and Mary Smith, who were also taken by the Indians; and perfectly remembers that said Mary Smith saved their lives by interpreting the Indians' discourse, when they were determining to kill them, as said Smith informed them (she the said Mary understanding the Indian language); that the evening before she was taken, they heard guns fired, which she was informed was at Hamonds, and that Mr. Hamonds was killed on that evening; that she this deponent with Mrs. Hamonds and her said two children viz. Heredial Smith and Mary Smith were carried away by said Indians with other captives, some to Teconick with this deponent, and some with these Indians to Amarescoggin; so this deponent was informed and further saith not.

The captives were carried from the garrison on Arrowsic, the captured and plundered establishment of Clarke and Lake, to a place on Kennebec river, called Hammond's, and thence to Teconnet. The distinction between Arrowsic and Kennebec river is indicated in this document, as in the deposition of Dale and elsewhere.

The next deposition supplies some omissions existing in the evidence thus far presented: —

Joanna Williams, aged seventy-four years, testifies and saith that she well remembers one Mr. Hamons who married with one Elisebeth Smith widow of James Smith as I always understood; and I well remember the said Hamons lived on a large tract of land lying on the easterly side of Kennebeck river above Arrowsic island. . . . I likewise well remember that said Hamons was killed by the Indians on said tract of land, and also Samuel Smith aforesaid. I also remember that the said Elezabeth Hamons was taken by the Indians at the same time her husband was killed, and also her daughter Mary Smith was taken at the same time; there was a large farm called Smith's farm, and afterwards Hamons, and called Negwasset Neck joining on one side on Negwasset river, and Kennebeck river on the other side, on which the said Hamons lived. Sworn to by the deponent in Inferior Court, at York, the first Tuesday of April, 1738.

The one point on which final proof might be required by the unconvinced and exacting, the home of this man, is here most decisively met. This is positive and confirms the previous circumstantial evidence. This man did live and fell under savage violence upon this large farm, situated "above Arrowsic island." Upon the river front of that described farm is found a definite locality, referred to as Hammond's head. At that point we know Smith lived. The name affixed shows it was the very point where his successor Hammond lived. Here was a common home, the fortified trading-house. In the perfidious attack, the husband and son were stricken down and left stripped and contemptuously cast out upon the river-bank; the wife and children went into captivity.

This cumulative evidence gives secure moorings for this drifting fort, and something more firm than moorings, for now it is cast up to rest on enduring foundations laid in the gneiss ledges washed by the tides of the Kennebec. It can be rebuilt in fancy, upon that northeasterly curve of Long Reach, where now are grouped the village dwellings of Day's Ferry. It was in 1670, who can doubt, a striking object, environed by the dark forests, as was the garrison of Captain Harnden, eighty years later, near the same spot.

This line of evidence, now made complete, repels all doubt from the conclusion, that at this point, the head of Long Reach, were enacted the bloody scenes made famous in our history in the oft-repeated story of Hammond's fort.

It is worthy of note that also in Long Reach, only a mile below, occured the Preble massacre of 1758. The scarred corpses of Mr. and Mrs. Preble were carried up and buried close by Captain Harnden's garrison, and near the spot, where once had flowed the blood of Hammond and his companions. One tragedy was the opening, the other the closing scene of the Indian wars in the Kennebec valley, extending through fourscore years. The extremes of savage warfare in this part of Maine were thus joined at points a mile apart, now within sight of the church spires of the city of Bath.

It will be a fitting supplement to this paper to mention that Mrs. Hammond was released from captivity in the following June, when she carried letters from the Indians to the authori-

ties at Boston. These dispatches add some important facts and disclose somewhat of the temper of the natives, and of the causes which from their point of view brought on this lamentable outbreak and carnage.

The official filing says, "Recd by Mrs. Hamond 1 July 77." Their worth as a new page of our Indian history, will claim a place for them here[1]: —

Having English friends I have sent Mrs Hamons to tell you that we have been careful of our prisners this is 3 times we have sent to you & have allways mised of you govenour of boston we would find your (mind ?) you find us all way for peace you allways broke the peace I would entreat you to send us a Answer of this (letter ?) by Mr. garner or Mr. Oliver If they be not at home send Mr wesell but send non of them that have been here already we think that them men that you sent before were minded to (shoot ?)[2] us Mrs Hamons and the rest of the prisners can tell that we have drove Away all the damrallscogon engins from us for they will fight and we are not willing of their company we are willing to trade with you as we have done for many years we pray you send us such things as we name powder cloth tobacko liker corn bread and send the captives you toke at Pemaquid

governor of boston we do understand that Squando is minded to cheat you he is mind to get as many prisners as he can and so bring them to you & so make you believe that it is Kenebeck men that have don all this spoul

govenour of boston we have bin cheted so often & drove off from time to time about powder that this time we would willingly se it furst & you shall have your prisners we can fight as well as others but we are willing to live pesabel we will not fight without they fight with us first

here is 20 men women and children that is prisners most of them was bought we have not don as the damrellscoging engons did they kiled all their prisners at the spring we would have you com with your vessell to Abonnegog Mr Garner can tell that last somer that we did Agree and it was Squando Angons that did all the hurt

Willian Woum Wood (?)
hen nwedloked
his H mark

winakeermit
moxes
essomonosko
deogenes
pebemoworet
tasset
john
shyrot
mr thomas

(*Filing on back.*)
Moxes &
Indians W. H. & G
recd by Mrs Hamond
1 July 77

[1] Mass. Archives, vol. xxx: 241, 242.

[2] Or cheat.

Of the other document, the first part seems to be missing. Neither have dates, nor the place where written.

. . . gov of boston this is to let you understand, how we have been abused. we love yo but when we are dronk you will take away our cot & throw us out of dore if the wolf kill any of your catell you take away our gons for it & arrows and if you see a engon dog you will shoot him if we should do so to you cut down your houses kill your dogs take away your things we must pay a 100 skins if we brek a tobarko pip they will prisson us becaus there was war at naragans you com here when we were quiet & took away our gons & mad prisners of our chief sagamore & that winter for want of our gons there was severall starved we count it kild with us whenever we are bound and thrown in the siler this doings is not like to mans hart it is more like womon hart now we hear that you say you will not leave war as long as on engon is in the country we are owners of the country & it is wide and full of engons & we can drive you out but our desire is to be quiet as for exsampl a hors was kiled by som yung boys & we are were to pay 40 skins

governor of boston this is to let you to understand how major walldin served us we cared 4 prisners abord we would fain (?) know whither you did give such order to kill us for bringing your prisners is that your fashing to com & mke pese & then kill us we are afraid you will do so agen Maior Waldin do ly we were not minded to kill no body maior Waldin did wrong to give cloth & powder but he gave us drink & when we were drunk killed us if it had not a bin for this falt you had your prisners long ago (Sentence unintelligible.) Maior Waldin have bin the cause of killing all that have bin kiled this sommer you may see how honest we have bin we have kiled non of your English prisners if you had any of ours prisners you wold a knocked them on the hed do you think all this is nothing

deogenes madoasquarbet

Candid students of history uncommitted to any theory can best judge of the force of the foregoing evidence in solving the problem of locality which we have been considering. The old and often-reiterated opinions, show a singular tenacity of life. I find the supporters of them, and especially one persistent advocate, still disposed to contest the ground. They have however put forth no new evidence, and only specious objections to what I have adduced.[1] To complete this connection it seemed to be appropriate to show from the history of Arrowsic that it was impossible for Hammond to have had his trading-house on that island as alleged.[2]

[1] Under disguised signature, "Inquirer," in Am. Sentinel, Bath, June 13 and July 22, 1885.

[2] Paper read before Sagadahoc Hist. Society, April 13, 1886, and reported in Am. Sentinel, April 29.

Arrrowsic first purchased of Robinhood, in 1649, by John Richards[1] was passed by conveyances, in 1654 and 1657, to Major Thomas Clarke[2] and Captain Thomas Lake,[3] merchants of Boston, who obtained sole ownership of the entire island. They made other purchases of Kennebec lands and entered upon extensive business and trade. These are best exhibited in the statement of Sir Bybye Lake, three-quarters of a century later[4]: —

> They did erect and build several houses and out-houses and several saw-mills on the said Arrowsic island, Negwassey and other places on the main land; cleared and made many inclosures; brought many families to come and inhabit the same whereon were very great stocks of cattle; built several grist-mills, bake-houses, smiths-shops, cooper-shops. and other conveniences for handicraft trades; caused to be built several ships, boats and vessels; fitted out and victualed and loaded them with the produce of the premises for Boston and other ports.

A trading-house had been established in 1653 at the ancient Teconnet by their agent Christopher Lawson, but subsequently they made Arrowsic their chief station, each in turn residing there a year in superintendence of affairs. The only description of their establishment is given by the New England historian Hubbard.[5] He writes that they built a fort, several large dwellings, and a warehouse, six edifices were within the fortified inclosure. One dwelling, probably the main structure, was styled the "Mansion House." This fort was intended for the safety of their merchandise, of themselves, their agents and craftsmen, but likewise for the protection of the inhabitants in the vicinity. John Gyles, who retired to it for safety from his home near Merrymeeting bay, calls it the "main garrison."[6] It may not be unfitting to call it the fortress of the Kennebec. It mounted at least "two great guns," and soldiers were assigned for its defense. It became a business center and also an important post in its relation to government and the defense of the district, since after Massachusetts extended her authority over the eastern parts, Clarke and Lake both were appointed magistrates, and

[1] Of Weymouth and later of Boston. [Vide Bangor Hist. Magazine, Sept., 1887, p. 42.]

[2] A foremost merchant and man of wealth; captain in the artillery, 1656; major of Suffolk regiment; in gen. court eighteen years; speaker five years, assistant four years.

[3] Of a distinguished English family of Lincolnshire. [Vide Me. Hist. Coll. V: 253.] Ensign of North Company, 1658, then captain. Selectman.

[4] Chalmer's Colonial Opinions.

[5] Ind. Wars; Drake's Ed., vol. ii, pp. 159, 163.

[6] Gyles Memorial, p. 114.

when fears of native hostility arose, to Captain Lake with others was assigned the superintendence of military affairs. Hence the "Arrowsic House" convened courts of law, was headquarters for general council, and its fortified walls offered hopes of safety to the people.

At or near this fort evidently gathered the Indians in June, 1675, and made agreements to keep the peace, when old Robinhood "with great applause of the rest, made a dance and sang a song" confirming the engagements, and the day of conference and pledged amity was further celebrated in the use of generous portions of "rum and tobacco," distributed by Captain Lake from the stores of his warehouse.

Mainly against this stronghold was aimed the vengeful assaults of the next year's war, though the first murderous stroke fell upon Hammond's house at evening, previous to the woeful surprise of this post the following morning. The general importance of this post may claim inquiry concerning its location, without regard to its bearing upon the previous problem. It is but due to say that in my early studies in the history of the Sagadahoc region, a question arose respecting the place of Clarke and Lake's fort — a question which then thrust aside would frequently recur, and nearly ten years passed before complete evidence was gathered and adjusted, finally yielding confident conclusions.

Unfortunately, Hubbard, almost the sole authority for the facts, made no direct statement where the fort was situated, on the north, or south, or on one or the other side of the island. But the first historian of Maine did assign a definite location.[1] "The fort which Clarke and Lake erected was near where the meeting-house in Georgetown now is. The remains of it were buried by the plow within thirty years past by Major Denny." The site of the old meeting-house is well known, upon southern Arrowsic near Butler's cove, where was the chief nucleus of the settlement of 1715-20, under the superintendence of John Watts, the English agent of the heirs of Clarke and Lake. All probabilities also derived from the topography and the known ownership of land by Major Denny will place the fort quite near the meeting-house site. All subsequent writers have repeated Sullivan, accepting

[1] District of Maine, p. 173.

unquestioned his authority. But latterly evidence has suggested grave objections to the location he assigned.[1]

HUBBARD'S EVIDENCE.

This writer derived his information from some one personally acquainted with Arrowsic and the events of the war, so that very considerable confidence can be given to such details as he gives.

He tells that the fort was "near the waterside," and implications from occurrences further confirm the statement. But it must be noticed that Sullivan's location is upon a high ridge, at the nearest one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards from the river, and still further from any accessible landing.

Again he writes, "a mill and other accommodations and dwellings were within a mile of the fort and mansion house." If his information had a fair degree of accuracy, this is decisive. The nearest mill site is distant from the old meeting-house in a direct line two and one-eighth miles. Two other valuable privileges, one, if not both, improved nearly two and a half centuries, and now known as Potter's and Crosby's, or Mill island, are distant three and three-quarters and five miles. There are no others and none possible unless constructed at vast expense. That nearest one, Swett's, upon Back river, near the bridge to Parker's island, and difficult of access, was the most likely to be utilized at that time, and is also double the distance required by the historian. He also writes that there were dwellings near the mill, and from them the people "hardly made their escape upon the surprisal of the fort." This tends to put the mill and fort at no great distance. Reasonable accuracy therefore in the historian will make strongly against the accepted site of the fort at the south end of the island.

Again circumstances in the surprisal of the fort furnish supporting evidence. The death of Captain Lake, "That good man, who might be emphatically so termed," as Hubbard kindly writes; "That exemplary, good man, my good friend barbarously murdered," as dolorously ejaculates Mather, his pastor in the North Church, Boston, greatly added to the sense of the dire scourge laid on the eastern settlements. Lake and three others escaped

[1] The writer after having put himself with the confidence derived from exacting research, irreconcilably against all former writers in the matter of Hammond's fort, with delay and reluctance, ventured at last on a like daring step, in affirming error in the matter of Clarke and Lake's location; but can only put forth here conclusions to which slowly and unwillingly he has been finally driven by the facts obtained.

from the fort unobserved at first, seized a boat or canoe, suggesting proximity of the fort to the water, and "made their way toward another island near by." Two of the men on landing, "fled away ten or twelve miles to the farther end of the island," and escaped, but Lake himself was shortly overtaken and killed. Hence the requirements of this narrative are, an island, one near, one of considerable extent. This can be no other than the adjacent Parker's island. If the fort was situated as supposed, these fugitives must have had a long run to the river, and then by boat could have rowed southward around the end of Arrowsic, and then turned to Parker's island on the east. Far more probably they would have pushed directly west across the river to Phipsburg, as Sullivan conceives. Or a very long run from the fort eastward would have brought them to the bay of Back river whence if finding a boat they could have pushed direct to the required island. These are very unsatisfactory solutions of the occurrence described Any site of the fort along the middle of the island upon Back river is not rationally to be admitted, from whence a few minutes would have secured crossing to the other island. Any other flight must have been on the north of the sland in the Sasanoa river in order to reach Parker's island, and would be the most consistent if the location of the fort would support it. Another incidental statement confirms the supposition of an eastward flight toward Parker's island. Captain Sylvanus Davis, one of the fugitives, was wounded by a shot from the pursuers, but the boat reached the shore, and he was able to secrete himself; and Hubbard writes, "The Indians by the glittering of the sunbeams in their eyes as they came ashore did not discern him." The historian understood that the conditions were such that the pursuers would be thus blinded. Hence they were pushing ashore toward the rising sun, or going eastward. The trend of evidence so far as furnished by these minor incidents makes plainly toward the northerly part of Arrowsic as a probable location of the fortified post.

Such a location is strengthed by a tradition which declares that Captain Lake was killed on the north part of Parker's island. If this was the fact, the flight must have been from some point on northern Arrowsic; for if it had been from the alleged location at its southern part, the fugitives must have been pursued some five

miles, which the narrative makes impossible, as Davis heard the shot which manifestly ended the life of Lake. This account of the latter's death prevailed among the early settlers and was reported by Benjamin Riggs, Esq., to Hon. W. D. Williamson for his history of Maine.[1] It was likewise related to the writer by his son, Moses Riggs, Esq., who claimed to have knowledge of the place where the pursued merchant was killed; but the story was cast aside as of little worth because out of harmony with the prevailing opinion of the situation of the fort, and when afterward it assumed greater value, the account had wholly faded from the aged man's memory. Though slight value may be admitted for these preceding particulars as matters of evidence, they have sufficient force to create a doubt if Clarke and Lake's establishment was at the south end of Arrowsic.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

Documents brought to light in recent years clearly confirm the points already made, as the evidence leads us forward into the period of the unpopular administrations of the ducal governors, Sir Edmund Andros and Colonel Thomas Dougan, who well represented their royal master, James. He asserted right to the soil throughout the Province of Sagadahoc, which his officials maintained harshly and with arrogance and oppression. After the abrogation of the Massachusetts charter, similar assertions of kingly prerogative was made west of the Sagadahoc, since it was held that the title was vested in the crown. All original purchase of lands was counted null; ancient deeds were "no better than the scratch of a bear's paw"; owners who had occupied and improved for years were forced at the option of losing all, to take out leases at such rates and exorbitant fees, as such unscrupulous officers might demand. Their greedy, haughty spirit intensified the bitter sense of injustice. Other lands these arbitrary officials appropriated to themselves or dispensed to whom they would. Arrowsic was in this manner seized from its rightful owners.

When peace seemed secured after Philip's war, expelled settlers from the Sagadahoc began to return. We are told by Sir Bybye Lake, that in this period, Major Clarke "returned to said lands, and with the concurrence and assistance of the widow of the said

[1] MSS. letters, Me. Hist. Soc.

Captain Lake, endeavored with a very great expense to resettle the premises, and to repair and rebuild,"[1] but of the date or details we have nothing. In 1679 a number of returning settlers had made a temporary abiding place on Stage island. For greater security and convenience they chose another place for a defensible, compact settlement, and sought the governor's approval of their plan. Governor Andros in response to their petition made the desired grant as thus described[2]: —

. . . To settle a Township upon the Southerne End of said Island Rowswick, not Improved A Little above or Northward of the first Marsh or Meadow Ground upon the Maine River or Westerne side of the said Island . . . and shall improve as far Northward as a ffence crossing said Island Aboute a Mile above said Place and said ffence Southward to the End of the Island.

A line cutting off one mile of the lower part of the island will show the extent of the tract. A portion was set apart for commons, or public use, and probably their fort of defense was constructed upon it. The adjacent lands were laid out in lots, and this new settlement was named Newtown, and had its municipal officers and administration. It embraced settlers and their farms within several miles, on both sides of the river. We only need to notice that this granted tract was "unimproved" land, and it is impossible that former residents and neighbors of Clarke and Lake should have in their petition so termed it, if here were the improved but abandoned farms, gardens, sites of destroyed dwellings and the fort, revealing the ruin of the war. Rather was it not unimproved or wild land, a part of the island not yet entered upon. So much force as there is in this document shows that the Boston merchants had not established their warehouses, dwellings, and protecting fort upon southern Arrowsic. Yet Sullivan had located them at the extreme south of this tract, one mile in extent. No protest of Major Clarke has been preserved, if he made any to a power that would not respect his rights, for Andros only gave effect to the will of James. Clarke died in 1684, and the business connected with the Kennebec estates was then managed by his son-in-law, Colonel Elisha Hutchinson, an honored name in Boston and progenitor of a distinguished

[1] Chalmer's Colonial Opinions.

[2] Mass. Archives, vol. iii, p. 337. Also Coll. Me. Hist. Soc. Documentary Series, vol. iv, p. 387.

family.[1] Soon came another stride of greedy rapacity and the arrogance of power. In 1686, John Palmer, land commissioner of this rigorous government, grants,[2] really gives, for thus these rapacious officials took care of themselves and each other, to John West, deputy-secretary of the same, the remaining portion of Arrowsic, and Dougan the governor confirms it by virtue of authority derived from the crown of England worn by the former duke, now King James II. West immediately takes legal steps to oust the true owners. The facts are best shown by a letter, dated June 29, 1687,[3] over the signatures of Hutchinson the son-in-law, and Mehitable Warren, a widowed daughter of Major Clarke, written to Thomas Lake of London, the son of the murdered Captain Thomas Lake of Boston: —

We take opportunity to acquaint you that Arowsic Island and the rest of the land thereabout which belonged to Major Thomas Clarke and your father, is this last Michelmas disposed of to sundry persons by order of Gov. Dougan, . . . but by what right he so acted, we understand not. The pretensions are that we did not hold under the king, and therefore our Indian deeds, possessions and improvements are nothing worth. . . Sir Edmund Andros soon after the war granted liberty for people about twenty families to settle on the lower end of Arrowsick but did not grant them any propriety. Gov. Dougan hath granted to Mr. Jno. West (formerly of N. York now Deputy Secretary here) a person in great favor with our present governor, the upper part of Arowsick, and he the said West hath sued out our tenant by writ of ejectment and taken possession, which we thought very strange to be compelled to make answer in another country about 500 miles distant from where the land lieth and that on so short warning and such a time of the year, which is not fit to travel in this country, and therefore none to defend appearing at New York where the trial was, judgment was entered upon default for non-appearance and immediately execution proceeded.

The letter continues urging Mr. Lake to gain the influence of some friend among public men to interpose and to have word sent over to Governor Andros to obtain a stay of proceedings.

It is only needful to notice that after the repossession and improvement of Arrowsic by Major Clarke and heirs, their tenant, who was ejected by harsh application of forms of law, was situated upon West's grant, the terms of which specify, "all tenements, edifices, buildings, also fields, pastures, meadows and other

[1] Thomas Hutchinson, the noted governor of Massachusetts was his grandson.

[2] Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., vol. v, p. 125.

[3] Lincoln Co. Court Files.

privileges and appurtenances," a full proof of extensive previous occupation and improvements, and in marked contrast with the "unimproved" land of Andros' Newtown grant. Clarke's re-entry upon the deserted section was manifestly upon the upper part of the island, or above the mile limit of the Andros grant. It was for repairing and rebuilding, and renewing the desolated estates, and conclusively shows that the former establishment and connected industries had not been situated upon southern Arrowsic. All these lines of evidence, even the lightest, are in harmony and tending to one result, direct inquiry to some other quarter for the required fort.

Recurring to the facts which indicate a flight by water toward the north part of Parker's island, and proximity of the fort to a mill-site, we are led to examine the vicinity of Mill island, for Potter's mill on the distant west side seems out of the question. Another fact suggesting this eastern mill is the purchase in 1667 by these business men of four hundred and fifty acres on Parker's island directly over against this privilege, evidently a foresighted plan to possess valuable timber lands near to their mill saws. If Hubbard was correct, the fortified post should have been within a mile of Mill island. Search discloses it five-eights of a mile from the present mill-dam, a field by a cove bearing notable traces of ancient occupation. Here relics have been gathered, implements found, bones exhumed, flagstones of old pathways uncovered. Here are cellars close by the water, and a famed well of unknown antiquity. This place made mysterious by curious relics and proofs of an early settlement, and long an enigma to the writer, because not adjustable to the acquired history of the island, is at the so-called Spring cove on the northeast border. When found and its certified story told, it harmonized all parts of evidence and completed the proof. Step by step, the lines of history followed, led hither to "the mansion-house" of Clarke and Lake.

VERIFICATION BY TRADITION.

Fifty years after the Newtown grant, John Stinson, one of a family of sturdy Scotch-Irish immigrants from Ballaghmena, in the county of Tyrone, came to Arrowsic. In his manhood he attained distinction as a local magistrate and a justice of Lincoln county. He purchased, and made his home upon this land which

comprises Spring cove, untilled, untouched, we must believe since the expulsion of the second war. His father had purchased adjacent lands from a grandson of Major Clarke, who managed the property for the heirs. Surely this family, if any, would learn the true history of those cellars, and paved ways. A great-grandson of Esquire Stinson now occupies the old homestead. A grand-daughter is yet living. Another, Mrs. Margaret Stinson Mitchell, died in Cleveland, Ohio, February, 1889, aged one hundred years and three months. One uniform tradition has always prevailed in this family, and the story has been repeatedly told anew in each generation of a fearful tragedy enacted on that spot. From the present occupant and his father, the writer has gained the old story; and also in rare privilege has received the same, written by the almost disabled and aching hand of Mrs. Mitchell, when nearing the bound of a century. Her early years were passed in the family of her grandfather. She stood a little child by his knee to read the Bible, and rode at his feet in the old-time chaise, as he in loyalty to his convictions, marshalled his family and workmen to the meeting-house. By these aged people was often repeated the story of the ancient Spring cove settlement, until its exciting events "were burned into her memory," as she averred.

The main incidents of the account she detailed, agreeing with what her brother related to me, are these: — An immigrant colony long ago; a strong fort built; when surprised full of people; the leader bearing the name Lake; a treacherous entrance to the fort by the Indians; a horrible massacre; great booty obtained; fort, buildings, and scalped victims burned to ashes. She further details the escape of the leader, whom her memory styles "Governor" Lake, who was followed toward Hockamock, and shot upon some islands. Curiously also is included the story of the "Governor's hat," worn afterward by one of the Indians; a fact written by Hubbard, whose history, or other history of the occurrence, Mrs. Mitchell affirms had never been read by any of her people.

Attention is called to the fact of a well-defined circumstantial tradition existing after two centuries. It agrees closely with the events as given by the historian of the time. It makes precise, and has ever held without variation, the name of the head of the

colony, Lake, "Gov." Lake, sometimes Sir Bybye Lake,[1] but a man of high standing or official station, the distinguished victim of the massacre. The authority of this family tradition is further enhanced by the fact that the lives of this lady, the chief narrator, and her grandfather, extended over one hundred and sixty years in the history of Arrowsic and bring report from the dim, farther side. Strong beyond parallel is a tradition of so few links, which alone would reasonably assure the true story of the Spring cove settlement.

The writer for years rejected the thought that Clarke and Lake's fortified post could have been on the northeast border of Arrowsic, but the line of evidence led surely in that direction. It began in the items of Hubbard's narrative, fort near the waterside, near a mill, fugitive's escape eastward to Parker's island; it was extended in the tradition of Lake's death on the north end of that island; all particulars difficult of explanation, or wholly inconsistent with the "South end of Arrowsic; it was augmented by the Newtown grant, and the gift to John West, and the ejectment of the tenant; it was made strong by finding traces of notable ancient occupation at the required proximity to a mill-site; it was finally certified by clear and circumstantial accounts preserved in the ancient family dwelling on the spot. History, documents, traditions, proofs written in the cellars and ruins, furnishing items trivial or strong, yet wholly harmonious and cumulative, assure a conclusion beyond cavil or rejection.

Thus certified the curious traveler, or student of Maine history, can look upon the site of Clarke and Lake's fortified post, as taking the delightful steamboat trip from Bath to Boothbay, they pass on the boiling tidal current beyond the upper Hellgate, and the fringe of forest on the right hand to the open land, where advancing toward the crag of Hockamock, they can look back upon a large old farmhouse, orchard, and a field sloping to the waterside, and can see at the first point of the opening, cellars filled with thorn bushes, and an oak at whose roots is found that spring of purest water when not flooded by high tide, which was dug out and stoned in the long ago by unknown hands. Some forty years ago among many articles here exhumed, there came out from a heap of ruins now touched by the very tide, a curious iron

[1] His position and zealous aid in behalf of the Watt's settlement in 1715 introduced his name in place of that of his grandfather, Captain Thomas.

affair, resembling a huge hoe, having a long harpoon socket for the introduction of a wooden handle, which, reasonable conjecture will assign as an implement used in clearing coals from the large oven of a bake-house. Such accommodations are mentioned by Sir Bybye Lake, as provided for the convenience of the early settlers. Near Mill island, was unearthed a brass sword hilt and guard, obscure relics of times of desolating war.

MENTIONED BY GOVERNOR SULLIVAN.

The fort he mentions at the south end of Arrowsic, was manifestly built for the defense of Newtown. Andros put a garrison there in 1688, and it protected the inhabitants till the abandonment of the river in the summer or autumn of 1689. His majesty's engineer a dozen years later, refers to it as a small square fort, palisaded.[1] In Sullivan's time nothing was known of Newtown.

RELATIVE PROBABILITY OF THE TWO TRADITIONS.

For thirty years the tragedy of Hammond's fort has been assiduously put forth as the event which accounted for the ruined settlement of Spring cove. The evidence which locates at this point, the establishment of the Boston merchants, will insure the entire ejectment of Hammond from it. In fact this location of Hammond has for its support, not a fragment of historical or documentary proof, but a single tradition derived from the wife of Rev. Samuel Sewall, who lived for a time upon Arrowsic subsequently to 1814, succeeding in the ministry the Rev. E. Emerson. In point of time, this tradition is not older than about 1820, and in authority is very weak in comparison with that held by the Stinson family for generations. Indeed, Mrs. Mitchell, who from a living memory so recently related the story preserved by them, had passed her girlhood on the spot, had heard often repeated the startling tale, had married and departed from her home several years before the former narrator, after she came to Georgetown to reside for a time, obtained her account. Were the weight of authority of these two witnesses equal, one has the advantage of being supported by the unchanged tradition of her people. None will more strenuously repudiate the associating of the name of Hammond with the Spring cove tragedy, than the Stinson family.

[1] Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. iv, p. 831.

But then this later and weaker tradition includes details similar to the older and true one, warranting the belief that by some obscurity of narration or lapse of memory, the wrong name, Hammond, drawn from a similar tragedy elsewhere, might have been thrust into the true account of the surprisal and sacking of Captain Lake's fort at Spring cove. By some such process was the story of Hammond and his wretched fate at a late period floated down to this locality on Arrowsic.

LATER FORTUNES OF THE FAMILY.

It will be a reasonable extension of this paper to add some further gleanings, which I have collected, respecting these persons, who experienced such vicissitudes of fortune in connection with their home at Hammond's head.

It is worthy of note that, in 1648, when James Smith bought his land of Robinhood, Richard Hammond, or Hamons, was a witness to the deed. His presence may suggest acquaintance with the native language, so that his services were required in transactions with the Indians. Again, in 1653, at Teconnet, he witnesses an Indian conveyance to Lake and Spencer. In September of that year, one Abell Hammond is witness to a similar deed. It is conjectured that these men bore some relationship to families of this name early found in Wells and Kittery. Indeed the stepdaughter Mary Smith married a person named Hammond and had her home in Wells. On a specimen writ under the Duke's government, in 1665, appears the signature to the return, "Richard Lemons, constable."[1] The lack of such a peculiar name in lists of that period and other circumstances, will permit a guess that this name, changed by copyist or type, was really written Richard Hammonds and that as a fitting person he held that office and made service of that writ. He married the widow of James Smith previously to 1667. At that date this enterprising woman appears sending to John Winslow, evidently of the Plymouth colony, fourteen moose hides, weighing 230 lbs., "on her own account."

It seems that her eldest son, James Smith, married the daughter of Walter Phillips of Damariscotta river and in the war fled thence to Salem, where a son Samuel is on record as born to his wife Margaret, November 15, 1676, and a daughter Elizabeth,

[1] Sullivan, Hist. of Maine, p. 291.

October 24, 1678. It appears likewise that a daughter, probably the eldest, Elizabeth, married Lawrence Dennis, a chief citizen and magistrate of Newtown. One or more sons made a home after the war in Salem, and doubtless to this place returned the released captives. These connections with Salem strengthen the presumption that the pioneer settler Smith went to the Kennebec from that place, and was a blacksmith. A sojourn of the widow Hammond in Salem will make it quite probable that her third husband John Rowdon belonged there, as it is a local name.

In following the fortunes of this woman, it is worthy of note that recent investigations have disclosed that descendants from one of her sons by James Smith, are residents of Oxford county, Maine.[1]

Nothing indicates how soon after her release from captivity, the marriage of Mrs. Smith-Hammond to Rowdon occurred, but they returned to her lands at Kennebec. The point of land at other times known as Hammond's head is once referred to as John Rowdon's point, and makes probable the residence of the man and family at this place. He chiefly appears in connection with the military service. In the winter of 1683-84 he certifies the statements of John Hornibroke, an Indian interpreter who lived a mile south of him, nearly east of Winslow's rock, concerning native threats of war.[2] When the blockhouse of the Pemaquiders was built at Merrymeeting bay, in 1684, John Rowdon with a file of ten men was put in charge of it.[3] In 1688 he is the officer in command of the militia of Kennebec river, and the roll of this company shows sixty-two men, all or nearly all, known as residents, doing service as town militia men.

But one more page in the history of this family, which connects itself with the second war, of which exceedingly meager outlines and few details have as yet entered our histories, can now be briefly written.

When rumors and fear of restlessness among the natives prevailed in the season of 1688, a most impolitic act precipitated the hostilities which it was designed to avert. Justice Blackman of Saco seized some twenty chief Indians for examination and detention till the true posture of affairs should be ascertained. The Indians regarded this as a game in which they also could take a hand,

[1] Represented by Mr. H. D. Smith, cashier, National Bank, Norway.

[2] Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., vol. v., p. 62. [3] Ibid p. 104.

and the Kennebecks at once proceeded to their part of the play. A party came down the river,— September 1, probably,— seized and plundered "the Merrymeeting house,"— doubtless the above block-house,— and took a number of persons as captives, or hostages. Thomas Stevens it is inferred, the settler from whom Steven's river derived its name, had at this time removed to the Kennebec. He was on his way by canoe to the house of John Bisbe, who lived on the east side of Long Reach, or Tuessic Neck. As he reached the house, five Indians rushed out, seized him, saying he was their prisoner, as also was Bisbe within his house. They told him they did this because Captain Blackman had taken twenty Indians and sent them to Boston, and when those should be returned, these prisoners should be released. They had already taken Captain Rowdon and John Hornibroke with their wives and children, and had them in custody in Rowdon's house. To capture the captain of the Kennebec militia was a feat worthy of their boasting. The new captives were taken up to Rowdon's, and then all but Mrs. Rowdon were sent to Merrymeeting. She was left in her house, and commanded to stay till they should send down a letter, which she must convey to the English authorities. Stevens was told not to be afraid as he would see a great many Indians by and by. At Merrymeeting bay, the captives were welcomed with joyous demonstrations and the firing of guns. In the night, a party of Androscoggins came, and then there were more salutes, shouting, and exultation; "See how many English servants we have got," the Indians cried. Captain Rowdon was directed to write the letter, but the messenger sent down with it returned, reporting that Mrs. Rowdon had run away, which led them to inquire if that was English fashion. Casting about for a messenger, they selected Stevens, now seventy years old, saying, "This old fellow shall go, for he can neither do us good nor hurt." He judged there were nearly fifty men well-armed with various weapons. Hopehood and Egeremet were among them, and the latter sent word to the English, that now they would have time to gather in their corn and cattle, as there would be no more stir till they heard from Boston. Hopehood proposed to have a party call on Mr. Dennis and have him send a demand to the governor for his two sons. The Indians then with their captives retired up river.[1] They regarded themselves as aggrieved

[1] Mass. Archives, vol. cxxix, p. 166.

by that arrest of their men, and in reprisal had secured these hostages; but their conduct and apparent spirit at this time commends them for self-restraint, and it was highly honorable and considerate to suggest that now the English could freely secure their property before the Indians felt compelled to make war.

This hapless woman, points in whose eventful history have been touched, a third time in her home at Kennebec was separated from a husband. Death had early seized the first; the tomahawk struck down the second; and now the third is forced from her side into the wilderness, to the abodes of savages ready on slight pretexts for murder and cruel war. Later at a conference, to the inquiry for Rowdon, the chief replied that he was far away up Kennebec river, and it is stated that he never returned.[1] His fate is not difficult to infer, for when war began his life would be cast in, to balance the loss of some of their chief men. The wife had found one bitter experience in captivity at Teconnet enough. Overborne by fear and distrustful of Indian faith, she fled down river to the forts, toward the shelter of civilized homes, and Hammond's head was again deserted.

It is presumed that in a little while all of these captives, except Rowdon, were restored. Hornibroke certainly returned. The Indians were not pacified, but probably took no attitude of further hostility on the Kennebec till spring. And then by reason of the watchfulness of the inhabitants, not many lives were sacrificed. On the twelfth of May, 1689, the garrisons left by Andros, abandoned Pejepscot and Fort Ann. A week later the savages swept down on the west of the Kennebec, burning houses and killing cattle. The people had sought the protection of the fortified posts at Newtown and Sagadahoc. A few soldiers helped to hold these places, and earnest pleas were sent to government, to reinforce them or to remove them all to places of safety. In June, those at Newtown represented their peril and distress, and reported that they had some two hundred cattle and nearly as many swine. It must have been soon after this, or not later than July, that the houses, all but one, in Newtown were destroyed and the fort abandoned.[2]

[1] Mather's Magnalia, vol. ii, p. 508-9

[2] Vide Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., vol. v, p. 394, but not in agreement in date. Certainly inhabitants and soldiers continued there till after the 10th of June, and the government voted supplies. [Mass. Archives, vol. cvii, pp. 97, 100.] Quite probably Newtown was held as long as Sagadahoc, which seems to have been abandoned by the first of August. Thornton's Pemaquid, Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., vol. v, p. 277.]

On the twentieth of July, ten of the inhabitants, protected by soldiers, going from the fort at Sagadahoc[1] to their possessions on the west side of the river, for cattle, were assailed while in the boats, and six were killed, three soldiers, with John Vereen, William Baker, and Charles Hunnewell. Provisions were now becoming scarce, as in the straitness of a siege, and in a few weeks it appears that the people and the soldiers were withdrawn, and the Indians left in undisputed possession of the country for a time.

[1] On Stage island.

ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER.

BY REV. ASA DALTON, D.D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 9, 1888.

A DUE regard to the fitness of things requires us to put on record our sense of the loss we have sustained in the death of our late associate Mr. Robert Hallowell Gardiner.

Mr. Gardiner was endowed with those personal qualities which inspire the affection of friends, and compel the respect of all, and he belonged to a family long and closely connected with the interests and growth of this community. The family not only enjoy the distinction of giving their name to the city of Gardiner, but the higher satisfaction of having contributed largely and uninterruptedly to its prosperity and culture.

Doctor Sylvester Gardiner, the great-grandfather of the late Robert Hallowell, was a descendant in the fourth generation from Joseph Gardiner, who emigrated from England and settled in Rhode Island. Joseph was the father of Benoni, Benoni of William, and William of Sylvester, who, after studying medicine in Edinboro and Paris, became a physician of eminence in Boston, where he accumulated a fortune by the importation of drugs. He invested his money freely in eastern lands on the Kennebec river, and became the leading director, as well as president of the Kennebec Land Company, from which he subsequently purchased the tract on the west side which bears his name. His principles, tastes and prejudices inclined him to side with the English government in the Revolution, in consequence of which his real and personal property was confiscated. His furniture and library were sold and scattered. Happily for the family a flaw in the legal proceedings against the estate at Gardinerston caused a delay in the proceedings, and peace was proclaimed before a renewal of the action. After the war Doctor Gardiner removed to Newport, Rhode Island, where he for some years practiced his profession, and died the year before the adoption of the constitution, one hundred and two years ago.

Doctor Gardiner provided in his will that a part of his property should be sold and the proceeds be equally divided among his six surviving children, John excepted, whom he partly disinherited as a rebel in politics, and a radical in religion. William, the second son, inherited the bulk of the Gardiner estate on the Kennebec, but died unmarried. The remaining four children were daughters, all of whom married. By the terms of Doctor Gardiner's will Gardinerston fell next to his grandson, Robert Hallowell, whose father had married the doctor's daughter Hannah. Robert Hallowell jr., adding the name of his maternal grandfather to his own became Robert Hallowell Gardiner.

Graduating at Harvard, class of 1801, he soon took up his residence at Gardiner, the name by which the town, which up to this date had been a part of Pittston, from this time was called, a great improvement upon Gardinerston. For more than threescore years Mr. Gardiner was the leading citizen of that community, to whose welfare he devoted himself with a conscientious zeal and steadfast purpose seldom seen. Beside improving his own estate and building the beautiful Elizabethan house upon it, he established the Gardiner Lyceum and erected the Episcopal church, whose Gothic style was at that time novel in New England. He also presented the town with the plot of ground known as the Common, now an elegant park adorned with shrubbery and shade trees.

His interest in the town continued to the day of his death in 1864, and in Robert Hallowell jr., his third child and eldest son, he had a worthy successor. Of nine children six survived him, as in the case of Doctor Sylvester Gardiner.

Robert Hallowell, the immediate subject of this paper, was born in Pittston, November 3, 1809. He died in Gardiner, September 12, 1886, having lived seventy-seven years — a long, useful, and honorable life. His boyhood was healthy and happy. He grew up in an atmosphere of refinement, knowledge, and piety. His mother was a Boston Tudor, a woman of unusual mental activity and superior culture. His early education was under the direction of private tutors, but he subsequently entered a class in the Lyceum, established at Gardiner by his father; a school similar to and anticipating the schools of technology of the present day, and afterward studied at the well-known Round Hill

school, Northampton, Massachusetts, in which the historian Bancroft was a teacher. He was matriculated at Harvard as an advanced student in his sophomore year, and graduated with honor, class of 1830. Colonel Long, an engineer of the United States ordnance department, induced him to adopt that profession, which he practiced for several years in the state of Georgia. His early life there was in the Cherokee country, where he was employed by the state in making surveys of new roads to connect Georgia with the farther West.

In 1840 he returned to Maine. In 1842, he was married, at Newport, Rhode Island, to Sarah Fenwick, daughter of Noble Wymberly Jones of Savanah, Georgia, to whom he had become attached during his residence in that state. They lived in Gardiner until the care of his wife's property required them to remove to Augusta, Georgia, where he became one of its most active, enterprising and useful citizens.

Following the example of his father and grandfather, he was soon recognized as public spirited and responsive to every reasonable call upon his purse, his time, and his talents. His experience as a civil engineer enabled him to devise plans for the sanitary improvement of the city, also for the protection of the river banks from encroachment, and especially to promote a project to improve the river for manufacturing industry. He was chiefly instrumental in forming a company which gradually grew to be prosperous and paying, not indeed to Mr. Gardiner, but to those who succeed him. Mr. Gardiner labored and others entered into his labors, reaping the fruits of his sagacity and enterprise. But our friend did not limit his endeavors to the material interests of his adopted city. Like his father before him he built and endowed a church in a part of the city where it was much needed.

When the Southern states seceded, Mr. Gardiner found himself in a difficult and delicate position. His wife was a southern lady, whose family was identified with the South. Mr. Gardiner himself had given good proof of his regard for Augusta and Georgia, but he could not raise his hand against the Union. With his wife he came North on the last train that was allowed to pass through Tennessee, and soon after went abroad, passing the greater part of the following four years on foreign soil.

On the return of peace and the death of his honored father,

Mr. Gardiner succeeded him at Oaklands, and from that time devoted himself to the care of this estate as well as to the general interests moral and material of the community, following his father not with unequal steps. Apparently, years of happiness lay before him; but a shadow soon fell upon his path, and darkened his household. His beloved wife was not long permitted to share with him the quiet and rest they had anticipated at Oaklands.

They had never had children. Mrs. Gardiner died in 1869, leaving her husband to pass his widowed life alone in the stately mansion. Ever afterward there was a tenderness in his manner, which but faintly indicated his sense of the great bereavement.

In addition to his home duties, however, Mr. Gardiner kept up to the last his interest in his native city and state, occupying himself with various useful and pleasant pursuits.

He was much interested in meteorology, and kept a record of the weather for the use of the United States government, which for many years he regularly transmitted to Washington.

He was a member of the Maine Pomological Society, and for several years its president. As a member of the Maine Historical Society he took an active part in its proceedings, and in many ways contributed to its usefulness and efficiency. As president of the Society he gave much time and attention to its affairs, and both personally and officially was held in the highest respect by all its members.

But the cause to which Mr. Gardiner was most attached was that of religion and the church of his fathers. To this he freely gave money and time, thought, talent, influence — all he had and all he was — for it was the cause which commanded his hearty assent, his warmest affections, and was closely associated with all that was dearest to him on earth and in heaven. Of his own parish at Gardiner, he was, for many years and at the time of his death, the senior warden.

He had also been for a long time a lay-deputy to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal church — at first from Georgia, and after his change of residence, from Maine — and at the time of his death was still a deputy to the convention on the eve of assembling. He was also treasurer of the Diocesan Missionary Society to the end, and held several other church trusts.

We cannot close this paper without recognizing that Mr.

Gardiner was singularly happy in the circumstances of his birth, education, temperament, and general environment.

His form was erect, his bearing graceful and friendly, his countenance amiable and gentle, his manners those of a cultivated scholar and gentleman. He was never haughty or assuming, arrogated nothing to himself, but bore himself modestly, even meekly. His opportunities were indeed superior to what falls to the common lot, and none can say that he abused them. In our democratic state, he was born to an affluence which might, and in many cases would, have proved the source of selfishness and pride on the one hand, and the occasion of envy and hatred on the other. But Mr. Gardiner bore his faculties so meekly, he was so considerate, modest, and gracious, that none but born Philistines could have cherished ill-will, envy, or malice toward one who evidently wished well to all, and daily did something to promote the happiness of his brethren of the church, the city, and the whole community.

What seems especially worthy of our approval and emulation is Mr. Gardiner's habit of identifying himself with the two cities and communities in which most of his active life was passed. Augusta, Georgia, and Gardiner, Maine, are both the better for his having lived in them. If our men of wealth and position are truly wise in their generation, they will not fail to discover that to identify themselves with the permanent interests and highest good of their respective cities, is the safest way in which they can walk, and the surest road to happiness for themselves and for the children who shall come after them

THE PROFESSIONAL TOURS OF JOHN ADAMS IN MAINE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 28, 1885.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

Upon the reduction of Quebec, in 1759, the settlement of Maine, which had been long interrupted by Indian hostilities, was permanently resumed. During the next year, the establishment of the county of Lincoln, embracing the whole territory between the Androscoggin and Nova Scotia, had an important influence in developing the resources of that section, and in rescuing its vast forests from almost a state of nature. The inhabitants of the district then numbered scarcely fifteen thousand, scattered along the coast from Kittery to Pemaquid; the extreme points of civilization being a few humble fortresses erected on the principal rivers, as a protection from French and savage incursions. A little colony which clustered around one of these border defenses called Frankfort, situated opposite Swan's island, on the easterly bank of the Kennebec, was selected for the shire town of the new county, and incorporated under the name of Pownalborough, in honor of Thomas Pownall, governor of Massachusetts. It was a large town in extent, including what are now Wiscasset, Dresden, Alna and Perkins, but then contained only one hundred and fifteen families.

Close upon the formation of the county followed men who were to take a prominent part in its affairs. Here came William Cushing, afterward chief-justice of the commonwealth, and one of the judges of the United States supreme court, together with his brother Charles — the one having been appointed judge of probate, and the other sheriff. Jonathan Bowman of Dorchester, had already arrived, with a commission as register of deeds. He and Charles Cushing had graduated together at Harvard college in 1755. Another classmate, the Rev. Jacob Bailey, sent as missionary of the Episcopal church, by the "Society for Propagating

the Gospel in Foreign Parts," soon joned them. With others attracted by the growing prosperity of the place, "they formed a community," says Mr. Willis, in his "Law and Courts of Maine," "as enlightened as it was genial and courteous." No town in the district, before the revolution, was so distinguished for able and talented young men as Pownalborough. Indeed, it would be rare to find at any time, in so small a population, so many refined and educated people.

An agreement made by the Plymouth company, which claimed a title to the soil on both sides of Kennebec river for fifty miles, to furnish county buildings, was performed in 1761, by the erection of a court-house, three stories high, and still a conspicuous object to those who pass by land or water. At first, no term of the superior court, which corresponded to the present supreme court, was held, but all matters cognizable by that tribunal were heard at Falmouth. Two sessions of the court of common pleas, however annually took place. The poverty of the people, and the wide distance between settlements were not conducive to much litigation. For several years, David Sewall of York, and Noah Emery of Kittery, remained the only legal contemporaries of Judge Cushing in the whole district. Until 1774, there were but two regular practitioners in Falmouth. Legal business, however, was not done exclusively by resident members of the profession. A custom had obtained, which continued until Maine became an independent state, for distinguished lawyers from Boston to "travel the circuit," as it was called, accompanying the judges as they proceeded from one shire town to the other, and conducting many of the more important trials.

Among those who thus penetrated the eastern wilderness, was John Adams, the second president of the United States. Graduating at Harvard in the same class with Cushing, Bailey, Bowman and Sewall, before mentioned, he became distinguished in his profession at an early age. In 1765, by recommendation of Oxonbridge Thacher, a leading member of the Suffolk bar, he first visited Pownalborough, to take charge of a land case. Perhaps a desire to see his classmates there, with two of whom, at least, he had corresponded since their college days, was an additional inducement for the journey. At that period intercourse was maintained almost wholly by boats, as no roads existed. It

was not until the present century that rivers and other water-courses ceased to constitute the most feasible means of communication between Maine settlements. Mr. Adams, however, traveled on horseback, finding his way through the woods from Brunswick to Fort Richmond by the aid of blazed trees. His biographer relates that "Pownalborough was then at almost the remotest verge of civilization, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he was enabled to reach it."[1] After encountering the obstructions of nearly impassable roads, through an inhospitable region, he succeeded in arriving at the place, and gained his case, which was of magnitude, much to the satisfaction of the client who employed him. The verdict promoted his interest and reputation. It induced the Plymouth company, Doctor Gardiner, and other land proprietors, to retain him in their actions, which were numerous, causing his annual attendance at the appellate court in Falmouth, during the next nine years.

The diary of Mr. Adams contains little about his Pownalborough visits. From his aversion to "taverns," as public houses were then called, he probably enjoyed the hospitalities of Sheriff Cushing or Mr. Bowman, both of whom lived in the open style of the period. He remarks that taverns through the whole Province were too numerous. "You will find dirt enough, and very miserable accomodations of lodging for yourself and horse. Yet, if you sit the evening, you will find the house full of people drinking drams, flip, toddy; carousing, swearing." Probably the Pownalborough "tavern" was not excepted from this general illustration. At one time the basement of the court house was used for public entertainment. A protest against such use is in the Massachusetts archives, signed by attorneys, jurors, and others, who request a removal of the courts, if better conveniences for travelers were not provided.[2] The county seat remained as originally established for thirty-four years. In 1764, Wiscasset became the shire town, and Pownalborough assumed its present name of Dresden. President Adams appears to have

[1] Increase Sumner, afterward governor of Massachusetts, visited Pownalborough, in 1773. A letter to his brother-in-law, Colonel Cushing (N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, viii, 109), states that the return journey to Boston, occupied eight days.

[2] A petition from Medancook and Muscongus plantations to the general court, in 1767, represents that strangers "have to lodge on the floor, or in barns, or sit up all night by the fire." Bangor Hist. Mag., ii, 158.

retained pleasant recollections of the place. In a familiar letter to Judge Fulton, after retiring from public life, he writes:—

I am sorry that the name of Pownalborough has been changed to that of Dresden; that of a virtuous and sensible man to that of a scene of frivolity. Pownall was a Whig, a friend of liberty, a lover of his country, and he considered North America part of his country as much as England, Scotland, or Ireland.

As has been before stated, the success of Mr. Adams in his first Lincoln case introduced him to notice in the other Maine counties. Between 1765 and 1775, his name is entered on the docket of the superior court at Falmouth in thirty-two actions. Some of them were not of great importance. That of Thomas Childs, appellant, against Enoch Freeman, which he mentions as arguing in 1771, involved the sum of only ten pounds, although four distinguished lawyers participated in it. With Judge Cushing he was frequently associated as counsel. Opposed to them were generally Theophilus Bradbury and David Sewall, and occasionally David Wyer of Falmouth, James Sullivan of Biddeford, Mathew Livermore of Portsmouth, Daniel Farnham of Newburyport and Jonathan Sewall of Boston, all eminent and learned advocates. The last term he attended there, was in July, 1774, after he had been chosen a member of Congress. It was then that his memorable farewell interview with Jonathan Sewall, last named, took place. "Congenial tastes and sentiments had bred a warm and intimate friendship between them," says the biographer of Mr. Adams, "rendered interesting not only by its pleasing and long-continued intercourse of mutual good offices and kindness, but painfully so by its subsequent dissolution occasioned by the different sides which they took in the Revolution of Independence." They walked together upon Munjoy's hill, before breakfast, and earnestly discussed the great questions which were agitating the country. They could not convince each other. Mr. Adams terminated the conversation by saying, "I see we must part; and with a bleeding heart I say it, I fear forever; but you may depend upon it that this adieu is the sharpest thorn on which I ever set my foot." After this, they did not meet again until 1788, in London, where Mr. Adams was ambassador of the free American states.

Of Mr. Adams' ten annual eastern circuits, his diary gives an

account of only four — those made in the summers of 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1774. The journeys were usually performed in a sulky or chair, but sometimes on horseback. They were relieved by calls upon friends along the route, and by evening gatherings of members of the bar in the shire towns. The latter was always especially congenial to Mr. Adams. His diary says: —

> Many of these meetings were the most delightful entertainments I ever enjoyed. The spirit that reigned was that of solid sense, generosity, honor, and integrity; and the consequences were most happy, for the courts and the bar, instead of scenes of wrangling, chicanery, quibbling, and ill manners, were soon converted to order, decency, truth and candor. Judge Pratt was so delighted with these meetings and their effects, that when we all waited upon him to Dedham, on his way to New York, to take his seat as chief-justice of that state, he said to us, "Brethren, above all things, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together."

Such interviews, as well as many other incidents of the circuit, at Kittery, York, and Falmouth, are repeatedly described by him. In colonial days, royalty reflected a pomp and circumstance upon the courts, which were in striking contrast to the simplicity of modern tribunals. The judges wore robes of scarlet, with large cambric bands and immense wigs, while the barristers had gowns, and also bands and tie wigs. As the judges approached the shire town, the sheriff met them with an escort and a flourish of trumpets; their arrival was announced by cannon, and the daily summons of the court, before bells were introduced, was by beating a drum. Mr. Adams gives the following account of the reception of the court in York county, in 1774: —

> When I got to the tavern on the eastern side of Piscataquis river, I found the sheriff of York and six of his deputies, all with gold-laced hats, ruffles, swords, and very gay clothes, and all likely young men, who had come out to that place, ten miles, to escort the court into town.

Mr. Adams found his frequent absences objectionable, as interrupting a regular course of thought and employment of time. "What plan of reading, or reflection, or business," he complains, writing in 1768, "can be pursued by a man who is now at Pownalborough, then at Martha's Vineyard, next at Boston, then at Taunton, presently at Barnstable, then at Concord, now at Salem, then at Cambridge, and afterward at Worcester? . . . It is a life of 'here and everywhere,' to use the the expression that is applied concerning Othello to Desdemona's father. Here, and

there, and everywhere,— a rambling, roving, vagrant, vagabond life; a wandering life." How little did he then imagine that events were already in progress, which for nearly a coming generation would require his almost constant separation from the tranquil enjoyments of home!

The records of the courts, and his own diary, constitute the only memorials of Mr. Adams' visits to Maine. Many places described by him would now scarcely be recognized. Most of the old houses where he was hospitably entertained, have, with their generous owners, passed away. After the lapse of a century, what was once Pownalborough has changed less than any other locality which he mentions. All vestiges of the old fort have disappeared, and a few stones only mark the spot where once rose the church and the modest mansion of the village preacher; but the court house, retaining its exterior form and appearance, is still preserved. It is to be hoped that the good taste which has induced the present proprietor, a worthy descendant of one of the most prominent early settlers, to resist any attempt at modernization, may be transmitted to his posterity, and that the ancient edifice may long be spared.

LIST OF CASES in which the name of ADAMS appears as counsel between the years 1765 and 1775. Copied from the Minute Books of the *Superior Court of Judicature.*

At Falmouth for the Counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, on the fourth Tuesday of June, A. D., 1769. [June 27.]

JOS. HUTCHINGS, apt., *v.* JOHN BOYNTON, aplee.
Cushing and Adams, Sewall and Bradbury.
[Begun in 1767 but the name of Adams does not appear until 1769.]

SYLV. GARDINER, apt., *v.* WIL. TYNG, aplee.
Cushing and Adams, Sewall and Putnam.
[Begun in 1767.]

SYLV. GARDINER, ap. *v.* JOS. CARLTON & al., aplees.
Cushing & Adams, Bradbury & Sewall.

SYLV. GARDINER, apt., *v.* NATH. LORING, aplee.
Putnam & Adams, Sewall & Bradbury.

WILLIAM PHILBROOK, apt. *v.* ELEAZER TYNG & al., aplees.
Adams & Wyer, Bradbury & Putnam.

JAM. BOWDOIN, ESQ., apt., *v.* THOM. SPRINGER & al. aplees.
Cushing & Adams, Sewall & Livermore.

ABRAM OSGOOD, apt. *v.* MARY HOPE, Aplee.
Farnam & Adams, Bradbury & Livermore.
PROPRS. OF YE KENEBECK PURCHASE apts. *v.* ABIEL LOVEJOY.
Myer & Adams, Sewall & Bradbury.

At Falmouth, Tuesday next after fourth Tuesday of June [July 3], 1770,

2d PARISH IN FALMO., apts., *v.* JNO. WISWALL.
Bradbury & Adams, J. Sewall & Wyer.
JAS. BOWDOIN, ESQ., apt., *v.* BENJ. BRANCH.
Cushing & Adams, J. & D. Sewall.
JAM. BAILEY, apt., *v.* THOM. BODKIN.
Cushing & Adams, Bradbury & Wyer.
JOHN RANDALL, apt., *v.* SAME.
Sewall & Adams, Bradbury & Wyer.
JOHN JONES, apt., *v.* JONA. COOK, aplee.
Sewall & Bradbury, Cushing & Adams.
ELEAZER TYNG, *v.* SYLVEST. GARDINER & al.
Bradbury & Sewall, Cushing & Adams.
HEN. HODGE adr., apt. *v.* JOHN PATRICK.
Cushing & Adams, Bradbury & Wyer.
KENEBECK PROPRS, apts. *v.* ABIEL LOVEJOY.
Cushing & Adams, Sullivan & Wyer.
JONA. DAVIS, *v.* THOM. THOMPSON.
Sullivan & Wyer, Bradbury & Adams.
GEO. DOUTY, apt., *v.* EPHR. JONES & al., aplees.
Wyer & Cushing, Bradbury & Adams.

At Famouth, July 2d, 1771.

THOM. CHILD, apt. *v.* ENOCH FREEMAN.
Farnam & Sewall, Wyer & Adams.
JOHN TYNG, apt., *v.* SYLVEST. GARDINER, & al
Bradbury & Sewall, Cushing & Adams.
ANDREW TUCK, apt., *v.* SAM. MORRILL.
Bradbury & Sewall, Wyer & Adams.
SYLVESTER GARDINER, apt, *v.* ABIG. THOMPSON.
Cushing & Adams, Bradbury & Sewall.
MERCY PHILPOT, apt, *v.* CHAR. CUSHING, ESQ.
Sullivan & Sewall, Cushing & Adams.
WISCASSET PROPRS, plfs, *v.* PROPRS UND LAKE & CLARKE.
Sewall, Adams.

At Falmouth, June 30, 1772.

ISAAC LEVI, apt, *v.* JNO LANGDON & al.
Farnam & Wyer, Sullivan & Adams.
WIL. ELDER & al., apt, *v.* THOM. TROTT.
Wyer & Sullivan, Bradbury & Adams.

At Falmouth, July 5, 1774.

ENOCH FREEMAN & al. apts, *v.* THEOP. BRADBURY, aplee.
Wyer & Adams, Sullivan & Bradbury.

JON. ANDREWS & al., apts, *v.* RICHARD KING, deft.
Q. Sullivans, Bradbury & Adams.

RICH. KING, apt, *v.* JOHN STEWART & al.
Bradbury & Adams, Q. Sullivans.

AARON BURNAM, apt, *v.* JOS. LIBBEE & aplees.
Bradbury & Adams, Sulv. & Wyer.

According to the records the first term of the superior court of judicature for Lincoln county was held at Pownalborough on the "Second Tuesday next following the fourth Tuesday of June (July 11), 1786. Before that time the court was held at Falmouth, for the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln.

Hutchins v. Boynton (the first case where the name of Adams appears as counsel) was tried at the inferior court of common pleas held at Pownalborough, Lincoln county, on the first Tuesday of June, 1767, and was appealed to the superior court of judicature in the same year.

Gardiner v. Tyng was tried at Pownalborough in the same court (inferior court of common pleas) on the last Tuesday of September, 1766. Appealed as above.

Correct.

ATTEST:

JOHN NOBLE,

Clerk.

REV. EUGENE VETROMILE.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND PHILOLOGIC LABORS.

BY HUBBARD WINSLOW BRYANT.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 21, 1883.

THE REV. EUGENE VETROMILE, a corresponding member of this Society, died on the 23d of August, 1881, in his native city of Gallipolis, Italy. In his death, the world at large has lost an eminent philologist and a devoted missionary. A brief sketch of his life and labors may be of interest to the members of this society.

Eugene Vetromile was the son of Pietro Vetromile and Anthonia Margiotta, and was born in the ancient city of Gallipolis on the Gulf of Tarentum in Southern Italy, February 22, 1819. Gallipolis is an island and connected with the main land by a long bridge of many arches. The origin of this city is unknown, but it is said to have been built centuries before the foundation of Rome. Greek survivors of the Trojan war are said to have settled in this province, and to this day the Greek language is commonly spoken there. Father Vetromile himself had a sort of Greek-Italian accent which he was never able entirely to overcome.

There in his native province, and at Naples, the Father received his early education under the tutorship of the Reverend Doctors De Pace and Leopazzi, and was received into the society of Jesuits in 1840, and for several years he discharged the duties of professor, prefect or teacher.

I am informed by the Reverend Father Ciampi of Boston college, that he sailed in company with Father Vetromile from the port of Leghorn early in July, 1845, on board an American merchant vessel called "The Coosa." They entered the College of the Jesuit Fathers, at Georgetown, District of Columbia. Here Father Vetromile remained for three years to complete his studies in theology, and was ordained priest in 1848. His first labors were at Port Tobacco, Maryland, and in the college at Georgetown, near Washington, District of Columbia.

Father Vigilante of St. Inigoes, Maryland, writes:—

I first knew the late Father Vetromile in 1842, and for six years we dwelt together under the same roof. I always admired his frank and noble character. He would disdain to use any quibbles, or indulge in any peevishness when contradicted, and was always of an even temper.

During the college life of Father Vetromile he received his first knowledge of the language of the Abnakis, from the Rev. Virgil H. Barber, S. J., and in 1854 went to Bangor and Oldtown as a Jesuit missionary to the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians. Here in connection with the Rev. Father Bapst he labored, and when the Jesuits departed from this state as a body he seceded from that society and remained in this state, and was connected with the diocese of Portland. At Oldtown he succeeded as patriarch of the Indians, Edmund Louis Demillier, priest-missionary of the congregation of Picpus, who, after twenty years of devotion to the Indians, yielded up his life on the 18th of July, 1843, and now awaits the resurrection of the just, in the little cemetery at Pleasant point, in the town of Perry, on the northeast coast of Maine.

Father Demillier was a methodical student of the dialects of the Indian tribes of Maine, and a careful penman. His manuscripts in the archives of the church are marvels of neatness and beauty. They were extensively used by Father Vetromile in his several compilations. For many years Father Vetromile labored among the Indian tribes of Maine, with an occasional respite of travel and journeyings abroad. In the years 1858-59 he was professor of natural philosophy, chemistry, and astronomy in the College of the Holy Cross at Worcester, Massachusetts. During this time he also served at the different missions dependent upon that college. After leaving Oldtown, he was stationed as missionary from 1859 to 1868 at Bangor, Ellsworth, Biddeford, Eastport and Machias.

He left Machias in May of 1881, intending to reside in Italy for two years, and then return to this country. Before leaving the state he had accepted an invitation from our Society to deliver an address here on the Indian tribes of Maine, but found, that, as he must spend so much time in reviewing his dictionary, in manuscript, of the Abnaki language in the bureau of ethnology, in Washington, he could not spare the time to remain over and make the promised address.

His literary style is easy and colloquial, and his devotion to the church of Rome is everywhere apparent in his writings. In contemplating the pulpit from which Calvin preached at Geneva, he says, "Calvin established the doctrines of Puritanism, which soon spread in France, Germany and England, and was unfortunately imported into this country by the Mayflower." In another place he says, "Gallipolis received the Catholic faith from the Apostle St. Peter, who was in this neighborhood three times; the city and entire province take great pride, and with good reason, in the fact, that, having once received the true faith from St. Peter they have kept it faithfully to this day."

Gallipolis being a Greek city the practice of religion there was formerly according to the Greek ritual; but that is now abolished and the Latin form of worship prevails, although many Greek customs and practices remain.

In his travels in Europe, Father Vetromile gives the origin of the word *Acadia* as an Indian word of the Micmac tribes, meaning our dwelling, or where we live. "That was not the name by which the Indians called it, but it was called so by the French, who, hearing the Indians saying *Akadie*, — we live there, there are our dwellings — very naturally took that expression for the name of the country.

He contributed two articles for our collections viz. Article nine, volume vi, on "the Abnaki Indians," which was prefaced by a brief memoir of the writer by the Rev. Dr. Ballard, and Article nineteen, volume vii, on "Acadia and its Aborigines." He published a ritual for worship and religious instruction in the various Abnaki dialects, called "The Good Book." He compiled a Book of Hymns and Prayer Songs, published in 1859. This, as he says in the introduction, is not only to give some practical instruction on church music, to aid the native Americans to sing the praise of the Lord according to the different rites of the Catholic church, but also to preserve several unwritten native tunes, kept by them only in tradition.

The "Stations of the Cross," and a volume of "Bible Stories" were also prepared by Father Vetromile for the use of the Indians. For several years he prepared pictorial calendars for the use of his native pupils. They were termed "Sande Awikhigan." We have them for these years, 1861, 1862, 1871, 1873, 1874, 1875

1876. It appears that Father Vetromile believed the Micmac tribes to be a portion of the Abnakis. We learn that they are not so regarded by the Penobscots, neither were they so regarded as such by Father Rale, who gives a list of the villages of the Abnaquis in his writings. His history of the Abnakis, published in New York in 1866, has already become a scarce book and is now seldom to be met with. It was advertised to be sold for the benefit of the Indians. It is dedicated to Bishop David W. Bacon of Portland, and is an interesting little work of one hundred and seventy pages.

In 1867 Father Vetromile left the city of Biddeford, Maine, to travel in Europe and the Holy Land, and published his travels in two volumes, in 1871.

In 1876 he started on another tour around the world, and published, in 1880, an account of his travels under the title of "A Tour in Both Hemispheres," or "Travels Around The World," A copy of this work he sent for this Society's library, together with a box containing his own manuscript notes, three small quarto volumes and loose sheets, letters from John G. Shea, and other scholars, also fifty or more letters that he had received from the lamented Rev. Dr. Edward Ballard, a former secretary of our Society. The crowning effort of Father Vetromile's literary labors is his dictionary. For a quarter of a century he had worked upon it, during the intervals of his labors as a priest and missionary.

Mr. James C. Pilling, the chief clerk of the bureau of ethnology, connected with the Smithsonian Institue, has kindly sent me from his catalogue an extract referring to this dictionary, which is as follows: —

Vetromile (Rev. Eugene). A dictionary of the Abnaki language, English-Abnaki and Abnaki-English. Three volumes, folio. Material collected by Father Vetromile while a missionary among the Abnakis, during the years 1855 to 1873. Volume I, pp. 1 to 573 contains prefatory remarks, description of the alphabet used, synopsis of the Abnaki language, including brief grammatical remarks, a table of abreviations and the Abnaki-English dictionary, from A to H inclusive.

Volume II, pp. 3 to 595 contains farther remarks on the grammar and a continuation of the Abnaki-English dictionary, I to Z inclusive. The dictionary in each of these volumes is divided into four columns. The first contains words from the Abnaki dictionary of the Rev. Father Rasles; the second, words in the Penobscot; the third, Mareschit; and the fourth, Micmac.

Volume III, pp. 1 to 791 contains the Abnaki-English dictionary A to Z, and includes words in the Penobscot, Etchimin, Mareschit, Micmac, Montagnie and Passamaquoddy dialects.

LEAVES FROM THE EARLY HISTORY OF DRESDEN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 27, 1880.

BY CHARLES E. ALLEN.

I PROPOSE to speak of the ancient history of a quiet Maine town; but am aware of the fact that this section, like most of our municipalities, has no real antiquity. The interest which centers about Plymouth rock is felt rather on account of events which followed, and in which the little company of farmers and artisans, who sought a winter home on the shore of Plymouth bay, were actors, together with their descendants, than by reason of the remoteness of the period in which the acts recorded transpired.

I am of those who find themselves fully in sympathy with the spirit of a sentiment expressed by the late John A. Poor, when he remarked in substance that much of the interest, which had been made to cluster about the history of Plymouth, belonged at least in equal degree to the history of our own state. In claiming this, it is neither our wish nor within our power to detract in the least from the little band of wanderers, who signed the historic compact in the cabin of the "Mayflower"; and then founded a colony in the wilderness of Massachusetts. We may truthfully assert, that our Maine wilderness became at a later period the home of wanderers whom religious intolerance and persecution forced from sunny France with far greater severity, than that which drove the humble artisans who formed the congregation of John Robinson from England via Leyden, to America. If "civilized New England is the child of English Puritanism," as Palfrey has said, it is also true that all America, from Maine to the Carolinas, felt the refining influence of the Protestant movement in France.

The result of the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV was to give to America many Huguenot (a nickname) refugees, who in turn bequeathed to us many honored names, such for instance as Jay, Bayard, Guion, Laurens, Bedell, Dupuy

and others. A small colony of these wanderers settled on the banks of the Kennebec river; and I now ask your attention, while we briefly examine some of the annals of the section in which they settled — annals too well authenticated to leave room for a reasonable doubt as to their absolute truthfulness.

The territory, which comprises the present town of Dresden, orignally formed a portion of the Kennebec tract sold by the Indians to Christopher Lawson in 1649, and which was conveyed by Lawson to Lake and others in 1650. Tradition says that it was first settled about 1630; and as some of our coast towns were comparatively prosperous trading-posts at even an earlier date, it is not improbable that pioneers occupied temporary habitations within the district, which then included the present towns of Dresden, Wiscasset, Alna, and Perkins, as early as the date mentioned.

It was not, however, until the year 1752, that several French Huguenot wanderers, induced by liberal offers made them by representatives of the Plymouth proprietors, and by the success which had attended the efforts of some of their German brethren in the present town of Waldoborough, settled within the limits of the present Dresden. Like the Puritans at Plymouth one hundred and thirty-two years earlier, they were people possessed of that peculiar practical intelligence, which is characteristic of individuals belonging to the so-called middle classes of society. The cabin of the "Mayflower," beside other artisans, sheltered at least one tailor; the vessel which brought our Huguenot wanderers from Boston to the Kennebec, brought hither, with other artisans, at least one French lace-weaver.

Charles Estinay Houdelette, a weaver of lace, fled from France to Germany, leaving a web in his loom. He was a French Protestant, or Huguenot, who, with others like him, settled on the bank of Eastern river in 1752. Eastern river — the Munduscottook of the Indians — is a winding, navigable tributary of the Kennebec, which divides the present Dresden into two nearly equal parts. On the banks of this picturesque stream, a mile and a half east from the present village of Richmond, and near what is known locally as the Middle Bridge, the little party of wanderers erected habitations. In their new home they engaged chiefly in agriculture, although some of them from being weavers of lace in France, easily became weavers of linen fabrics in this

wilderness country. Samples of these fabrics are still held by their descendants as heirlooms, and they rival in fineness the product of famous looms.

I have often wondered what sentiment prompted these wanderers to give their wilderness plantation the German name of Frankfort. Possibly they saw in the winding Eastern river a copy of the Main; and believed that their descendants might see the beautiful meadows within its narrow valley, walled as they are by hills of sufficient height to command views of the distant White Mountains, the home of a population as prosperous as was that of the German city. The Kennebec may have suggested to them the Rhine.

In 1754 these settlers united with their brethren of Georgetown, styling themselves a collection of Protestants from Great Britain, Ireland, France, and Germany, in asking the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that a missionary be sent them. On the recommendation of Governor Shirley and others Mr. Macclenaghan was sent them, on a salary of fifty pounds, or about two hundred and fifty dollars. He remained in Frankfort a little more than two years.

November 24, 1759, these settlers again petitioned for a minister. This petition bore, with others, the name of Charles Estinay Houdelette, together with such unmistakably French names as Pechui, Pochard, Shoul, Jacqueen, and the German Mayer, together with the Scotch McGown, many of which names, more or less Anglicised, are borne by residents of Dresden today.

Popular historians say that Dresden was settled by Germans; but while the German element was represented, especially at a later period, Rev. Jacob Bailey was evidently correct when he declared that Dresden was really settled by the French. Families are able to trace their ancestry as clearly as did the lady who showed me the evidence that Charles Estinay Houdlette was twice married in France; that his first wife's surname was Guliver; that she was niece to a duke; that their four children were named respectively Lucy, Martha, Mary and Louis. The second wife was Susannah McCray, who had for children Jane, Mary, Dolly and Catherine.

The petition of 1759 was answered by sending them Rev. Jacob Bailey, above referred to, in 1760. Mr. Bailey was a na-

tive of Rowley, Massachusetts; was a graduate of Harvard, in 1755; was a classmate of John Adams, of Charles Cushing and Jonathan Bowman. He went to England to take holy orders, and came to Frankfort immediately on his return. Here he continued to labor until the troublous times incident to the war of the Revolution, drove him, a loyalist, to Nova Scotia, in 1779, where he died in 1808. He seems to have been a man of superior intelligence, with ideas and morals in advance of most of those by whom he was surrounded. A sketch of his life, the comparatively well-known volume, entitled "The Frontier Missionary," published in Boston, in 1853,[1] is a valuable contribution to the history of the times and of the section in which he labored.

Fort Shirley, sometimes called Fort Frankfort, was erected in 1754. Its site was a few rods distant from the structure well-known as the old court house of Pownalborough. At least one lady still living in Dresden, and now ninety-one years of age, remembers playing about its partly ruined timbers when a child. This structure sheltered the first congregation gathered in Frankfort to participate in religious services under the ritual of the Church of England, although no doubt that the Jesuits Andron, Bigot, and possibly Ralle and others, had long ere this celebrated mass within the limits of this town, with a congregation of Indians as worshipers.

In 1760, the county of Lincoln was formed; and Frankfort plantation, having become the new town of Pownalborough, was made its shire town. The last official act of Governor Thomas Pownal was to sign the act creating the new town, named in honor of himself. Charles Sumner, in "Prophetic Voices," calls Governor Pownal the purest and best of the old colonial governors, and perhaps the least known. He signed the charter of the new town February 13, 1760. In 1761 the Plymouth company, or rather the proprietors of the Plymouth patent, erected the building for the courts. This, known as "the old court house," now occupied as a dwelling, is a conspicuous object on the eastern bank of Kennebec river, some two miles above the village of Richmond. The structure sheltered Mr. Bailey's congregation nearly ten years, or until 1770, when the edifice known as St. John's church, Pownalborough, situated on an eminence a little

[1] This is probably the volume referred to in the letter of John H. Sheppard, copied in our Historical memoranda in this number.

back from the Kennebec, was so far completed as to be occupied for the first time November 4. This structure long ago disappeared, together with the parsonage-house adjacent, although the site, with the graves in the churchyard, is distinctly traceable; but it has been succeeded by a modern edifice at Dresden Mills village, where Episcopal services are still sometimes conducted.

In 1765, a young attorney, thirty years of age, named John Adams, afterward second president of the United States, attended court in the old court house, as counsel for the Plymouth company. He experienced great difficulty on his journey, including falling sick by the way, but finally reached here, gained his case, and became counsel for the company in all their cases on the Kennebec. He felt great interest in the place, then "at the remotest verge of civilization" as he expressed it. In 1817, in a letter to William Tudor, he expressed great regret that its name had been changed from Pownalborough to Dresden.

June 25, 1794, that part of the town, known as the west precinct of Pownalborough, was incorporated as Dresden, the name being proposed by Doctor Ernst Frederick Philip Theobald. Doctor Theobald was born in a small town in the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Cassel, Germany, December 2, 1750, and graduated at the then celebrated university of Gottingen, in 1774. He was chaplain and surgeon in that division of General John Burgoyne's army, which was under the immediate command of the Baron de Riedesel. Burgoyne's triumphal march from Quebec via lakes Champlain and George, ended in surrender to the American Generals Gates and Arnold at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. Baron Riedesel is mentioned by Massachusetts historians as among the prisoners of war paroled at Winter Hill, in the present city of Somerville. The house on Brattle street, in Cambridge, where the Baroness scratched her name with the diamond of her ring on a pane of glass, was standing a short time ago, and I presume is to this day. The young German physician, Doctor Theobald, was paroled with the baron, and hearing of the German colonies at Waldoborough and at Pownalborough, he came to Maine, where tradition says he at first ministered to the spiritual needs of his countrymen, in their native tongue in the old Lutheran church still standing in Waldoborough. Certain it is that he afterward settled in Pownalborough, where he was married to Sally

Rittal by Jonathan Bowman, Esq., in 1781, and where he practiced medicine, was a yearly toll-payer over the lower bridge in Dresden, and where he died in 1808. His descendants still live in Dresden and vicinity.

The French army sent to America in 1780, to aid the colonists, and which was under the command of Count de Rochambeau, contributed Major John Polereczky to the number of early settlers in Dresden. He was town clerk for fifteen years, and lived on the east bank of Eastern river, which stream was for a while called the Sydney, I know not why.

William Willis, in "History of the Law, Courts, and Lawyers of Maine," says, "No place in Maine, previous to the Revolution was so distinguished for its able and talented young men as Pownalborough." He mentions Bailey, Cushing, Langdon, Bowman, Bridge, and others. I have already mentioned Rev. Jacob Bailey. William Cushing was born in Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1733, graduated at Harvard in 1751, removed to Pownalborough, and became the first judge of probate for Lincoln county. He was judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts, in 1772, and in 1789 was appointed by President Washington judge of the United States supreme court. Jonathan Bowman was the second judge of probate for Lincoln, and also clerk of the courts. Edmund Bridge, fifth in line of descent from the Puritan John Bridge, who about 1635 was deacon of the first church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, settled in Pownalborough in 1760. In 1782, Governor Hancock appointed him sheriff of Lincoln county, which office he held over thirty years. His oldest son James, born in Pownalborough in 1765, read law with Theophilus Parsons, in company with John Quincy Adams. Edmund's fourth son, Samuel, was the father of Samuel James Bridge, born in Dresden in 1809 (June 1). Samuel James Bridge was a merchant in Boston, and United States appraiser there. Afterward he held the office of appraiser-general for the Pacific coast. He is today a resident of Dresden, and is closely connected with the interests of the old town. He is known, as the donor, among other generous gifts, of the statue of John Harvard to the grounds of Harvard college, a few years since, and he is at present interested in educational projects in his native town of Dresden.

The question is not an important one, and yet there is some historic interest attached to it, did Arnold visit Pownalborough? Willis says he did, and such is the tradition in the Bridge and other Dresden families. And yet some have thought the statement of sufficient importance to question its accuracy. In the first volume of Collections of the Maine Historical Society is a special account of Arnold's expedition up the Kennebec, which says that on the 20th of September, 1775, the expedition came to anchor opposite to Pownalborough, and above Swan island. Rev. Mr. Bailey, who, with his little congregation, varying from twenty-five to seventy-five persons, was much disturbed by its presence in the river, alludes to it, although a special account written by him was never published. Certainly it is more than probable that Mr. Willis' account is absolutely correct, as at that time Pownalborough was the most important place on the Kennebec. Edmund Bridge contributed to the funds of the expedition, which was for that period a most difficult as well as a brilliant undertaking.

It is certain that Prince Talleyrand visited Maine in 1794. No doubt that he tarried for a night in the Bridge house, which is still standing in Dresden. North, in his "History of Augusta," says that a young Frenchman, supposed to be the Duke of Orleans, afterward King Louis Philippe, accompanied him. There is some doubt, however, about the Duke of Orleans leaving France until the year 1796, although it is certain that he did visit America, and probably, as Mr. Bridge claims, he also tarried at the Bridge mansion, which at that time served as a sort of relay house between the then important port of Wiscasset and the interior settlements along the Kennebec.

Dresden contributed a delegate to the convention which met in Portland, in 1819, to frame a constitution for the proposed new state of Maine. This delegate was Captain Isaac Lilly, who occupied a farm next north of my own, or near the locality known as Cedar Grove. My own farm was formerly owned and occupied by a Revolutionary soldier — Solomon Blanchard.

I have indicated a few of the milestones set along the pathway of the local historian, who may at some future time interest himself in the romantic annals of a section, into which the student has thus far failed to do more than give a superficial glance.

For although I have confined my remarks to Dresden, equal interest attaches to a large section, of which this town is but a small, although a very important part. My sketch could not be exhaustive, even had I time to make it so. Many of the facts are known to some of you already. I believe that others, which I have presented, are entirely new to you. I trust that all have proved to be interesting to you, as they certainly are to me.

HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

Traces of Talleyrand in Maine.

In the April number of this publication are comments upon a tradition mentioned in the editorial columns of the "Machias Union," of the visit to Maine, as early as 1794, of the famous diplomatist, Talleyrand. Edward H. Daveis Esq. of this city, son of the distinguished and honored early member of the Maine Historical Society, Charles S. Daveis, has presented to that Society two letters, which we publish, in which further traces appear of the visit to Maine of the famous Frenchman. The first is from Judge Nathan Weston, grandfather of the present Chief-Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and is as follows :—

Augusta, January 18, 1854.

Dear Sir :—

In 1794, if I am right in my reckoning as to time, when I was twelve years old, Talleyrand with another French gentleman, spent a few days in what is now Augusta, then a part of Hallowell. He was known to have been a man of high rank, and a distinguished actor in the French revolution, although the more salient parts of his character had not then been fully developed. My curiosity was strongly excited, and I had many opportunities of seeing him, and noticing his appearance, bearing and deportment, which are strongly impressed on my memory.

He was thin, his complexion dark and sallow, his countenance highly intellectual, indicating deep thought, with an air grave and abstracted. He was lame and walked in the streets with one arm locked in that of his French companion, aided by a cane, in his other hand.

It was then understood that he did not speak English. His companion did. While they were together he inquired of me where they could get some apparatus for angling in the river. He had all the amenity which belongs to his nation; but Talleyrand uniformly preserved, when I saw him, an imperturbable gravity.

His habit of reserve could be more easily maintained, while it was understood that he did not speak English, and he might hope that from this belief others might speak more freely in his presence. He had been a year in a diplomatic capacity in England, and I am well advised that he could speak our language, when he chose to do so.

When in Philadelphia, he was a frequent visitor at the house of Gen. Knox, then secretary of war. His oldest daughter, afterward Mrs. Thacher, stated to me that she had often conversed with Talleyrand in English. On one occasion she spoke favorably to him of a young gentleman, who had just withdrawn. He did not appear to sympathize with her in opinions, but said in reply : "He is very tall."

Mr. Benjamin Vaughan did not come to Hallowell until two or three years after Talleyrand was here.

By the same mail, you will receive a paper,* containing some reminiscences written by me, in which Talleyrand is mentioned.

Very truly yours,

NATHAN WESTON.

HON. CHARLES S. DAVEIS.

Judge Weston's personal description, answers to what is known of Talleyrand. An accident of his childhood made him lame for life, and it was this which determined him to a clerical career, for which his character and ambitions ill fitted him, instead of the military career open to him by his patrician birth.

In 1809 when Napoleon's splendid fortune begun to show signs of approaching eclipse, the wily minister, with his sagacity to read the signs of the times and his instinct to be on the winning side, had given such indications of defection, that his imperious master reproached him with having received all his fortunes at his hands, with the chief guilt of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, with having enriched himself by speculating in stocks, and receiving bribes from foreign powers. The crafty prince received this torrent of angry reproof in impressive silence, and only remarked "when he was out of the room and limping away," "What a pity that such a great man has been so badly brought up."

But the courteous "French companion," upon whose arm the lame man leaned, was he Louis Philippe, the citizen king? The Machias tradition, as has been seen, declares that these two famous men were fellow travelers in Maine. Hon. Charles E. Allen in his paper in this number, "Leaves from the Early History of Dresden," says they were believed to have been together in Hallowell.

Judge Weston would have been likely to have mentioned the French king, if there was any prevalent belief in the place of his early residence, that he was the companion of the great diplomatist. But he describes a person whose courtly manners might well have been acquired in the society of the high nobility of France.

It is a matter of historic certainty that Louis Philippe spent some time in the United States, and there is a tradition afloat that he kept school here. The distressed prince might have accepted pecuniary or other aid from some American citizen, for which he insisted on giving some equivalent in French lessons to the daughters of his benefactor. He would hardly have been eligible as a schoolmaster for any such schools as were in vogue here in 1794.

Louis Philippe, although his father the Duke of Orleans had gone recklessly into the revolution, had assumed the title of *Egalité* and as a member of the convention had voted for the death of his cousin, the king, could never atone for his kingly blood. When the Terrorists became suspicious of everybody, even their own associates, they sent old

*I have not been able to find the paper referred to.

E. H. DAVEIS.

Egalité to the guillotine, and proscribed his son. Dumouriez, the republican general, whose victories over the allies came near making him the Napoleon of the revolution, meeting one defeat, had incurred the suspicion of the jealous cabal that dominated France, and was also proscribed. He went into exile, taking with him Louis Philippe, then only twenty years old, as a companion. This was after 1793.

It is known that Dumouriez went first to Brussels, then to England. If the young prince was with him and came to America, he would have been quite likely to have been in England, at the end of January, 1794, when Talleyrand was sent out of the country by orders in council and sailed for America with letters to the English minister at Washington, and to have there, left Dumouriez and joined Talleyrand on his voyage to the United States.

The probability seems then quite strong that the companion of Talleyrand in his route through Maine in 1794 was the French sovereign.

The other letter referred to is from John H. Sheppard, a member of the Massachusetts legislature in 1854, but apparently born in Maine, perhaps at Wiscasset. It is also addressed to Mr. Daveis, senior and is as follows :—

HO. OF REP.

BOSTON, Jan'y 30, 1854.

CHARLES S. DAVEIS, ESQ.

Dear Sir :—I have been much engaged in the legislature, or would have replied to your favor of the twentieth inst. before.

I am obliged to you for your good opinion of my notice in the "Boston Journal" of Mr. Bartlett's graphic biography of Jacob Bailey. Subjects touching the early history of Maine have long been interesting to me, and I have long thought that the flourishing state of Maine — where so much of my life was passed — contains a mine of rich matter for the lover of the past.

As to Talleyrand I wish I could give you some information. When a boy I had often heard of his visiting Hallowell, where my father formerly resided and being at Judge Robbins — Chandler Robbins, Esq., afterward judge of the C. C. Pleas, — and that he came by the way of Wiscasset, where he arrived, I think, in one of General Wood's ships. Of the last fact I will ascertain for you more particularly the first opportunity.

But you labor under a mistake about Talleyrand's coming to this country in a vessel commanded by my father — Judge Western (Weston) was altogether in error. My father I suspect was not in Maine at that time, nor Dr. Vaughan, with whom he was very intimate. The fact is my father was educated in London as a merchant, and after visiting Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, finally settled in Hallowell, and there for years was in trade and connected with Charles Vaughan, Esq. brother of Dr. Vaughan. Being unfortunate in business, about the first of this century, he gave up his store and took charge as supercargo, of a ship to the East Indies, and afterward in subsequent voyages with an

experienced mate took the command himself of a ship. From this perhaps originated Judge Weston's mistake.

When I visit Wiscasset I will try and get more particular information on this subject.

I am pleased to hear your health is so much re-established.

With respect, yours truly,

JOHN H. SHEPPARD.

Mr. Sheppard's letter effectually contradicts a part of the Hallowell rumor, that Talleyrand arrived in Wiscasset in a ship of General Wood, of which Captain Sheppard was master. It leaves standing the reputation, apparently reported by Judge Weston, that Wiscasset was the port of the United States of the disembarkation of the French exiles.

But that too is probably erroneous. The Machias people have as distinct a tradition of Talleyrand in their town as the Hallowell people have of his sojourn in their settlement. Of course in the little community they were much talked about, and as they arrived in Augusta (Hallowell) from Wiscasset, known to be a place at which ships arrived from foreign ports, it was very likely that a conjecture should have obtained that the distinguished visitors landed there. Of course it was undoubtedly essential in 1796 as well as it is in 1890, that every Yankee should be informed by every stranger he encountered, Where he came from? and as this common inquiry was baffled by the reticence of the older traveler and not likely to be answered against his cautious advice by the younger, the conjecture had to take the place of the fact in the completed history.

CAPT. ABRAHAM PREBLE'S COMPANY, 1703.

The accompanying list of Captain Preble's company I have copied from the original memorandum in his own handwriting, which has been loaned to me by the Hon. J. Wingate Thornton, to whom it belongs.

The writer, Abraham Preble, was the son of Nathaniel, and grandson of Abraham and Judith (Tilden) Preble, the common ancestors of all of the name in America, and should not be confounded with his uncle Abraham, born 1642, died 1714, aged seventy-two, who was also as it is inscribed on his tombstone, "Capt of the Town" of York. He doubtless relinquished that military office before 1703, on account of his age (sixty-one), in favor of his nephew. The latter was many years and until within a year of his death the town clerk. Many pages of the town records are in his handwriting, or attested by his signature, identical with the handwriting and signature of the original memorandum. The blue slate headstone over his grave in the old burial ground in York, was in excellent preservation when I saw it about two weeks since, and bears the following inscription: —

Here lies buried ye body of Mr. Abram. Preble, Esq., and Capt. in ye town and judge in ye County of York, he served his country in other various posts and at ye time of his death, which was on March 14, 1723, in ye 50th year of his age, he sustained no less than nine offices of honor and public trusts for the town County and province.

He was the third Judge Preble. Descendants from him of the name are still living in York.

The following letter, dated July 4, 1719, from him to Captain Pepperill, copied from the original, may be of interest.

YORK, July ye 4th 1719

Capt Pepperill

Pr dont Let my Sloop Come home with out a piece of a Sheet Cable. pray you to Put forward to Git one Cost what it will. pleasd to help my People with a Little vitles to bring them home: desird you to make the former your one bisness and with due Respect your humble Servant

ABRAM. PREBLE

Pray Set your head to work
and Let Good Will be at home.
To
Capt William Pepperill
in Kittery
p Mr. Burrill

QUERY.—Was the name of this sloop "The Good Will," and this postscript a pun upon her name?

The company list is interesting as it probably comprises the names of the flower of York, or of the young men at that date, Captain Preble being only twenty-nine years of age, capable of bearing arms in its defense against the Indians, who ten years before had slaughtered so many inhabitants and destroyed so much of the town.

Truly Yours,

GEO. HENRY PREBLE.

Portland, Me., September 4, 1876.

LIST OF CAPT PREBLE'S COMPANY, 1703.

Lieut. Lewis Bane,
Sargt. William Bats,
Sargt. Josiah Ridgs,
Sargt. Nathan Lord,
Corp'l. Thamas Pool,
Corp'l. Josiah Bridges.
Joseph Waite,
Ephrim Child,
Timothy Whittney,
Peter Bats,
Samuel Wattkins,
Samuel Everit,
Ebenezer Tucker,
*Joseph Smith,
James Hill,
*Isaac Pronender,
Nathaniel Whittney,
John Perrey,
John Gipson,
*Samuel Gurney,
John Nornel,
Antony Barks,
Joseph Young,
*John Whitney,
William Bryer,
George Nutt,
*Nathaniel Alling,
Joshua Hubard,
Joshua Brimhorne,
Rebert Muncon,
Robert Harris,
*Simyan Merrifield,
Sollom on Rose,
John Redhead,
Abraham Batting,
Clerk, Elishea Alling,

BARWICK, Nouem^{r} ye 11th. 1703.

This may cirtyfie whom^{e} it may Conceirn that the aboue written is the Tru and faithful List of all Her Majesty's souldirs und^{r} my comand Erors exsepted.

Wittness,

ABRA^{M} PREBLE, Capt.

BOOK NOTICES.

History of Rumford.[1]

Dr. William B. Lapham, a valuable and efficient member of the Maine Historical Society, has completed and published since our last quarterly number, his history of the town of Rumford, in Oxford County, Maine, a handsome octavo volume of four hundred and forty-eight pages. It is the pride of our Society, and the vindication of its just claim to the liberal suppport of our fellow-citizens, that it stimulates and encourages this kind of literary work. The histories of so many of our Maine towns, every year added to by the industry and research of patient and competent investigators, that form such valuable contributions to our own library and to that of the state, the towns, the colleges and the public schools, are furnishing for the annalist, the statistician and the historian precious materials to make the general history of the future accurate and complete. In the accumulation of details there must be, of course, many things that it is best to forget, as well as some things that it is well to remember; but the student, properly equipped for his task, if the materials are ample and the record unbroken, will know which to use and which to omit, where all the *data* are collected, fitly arranged and carefully indexed.

The physical feature that marks the region, and that which doubtless attracted the first settlers to it, is the Androscoggin river, which, in passing across the township from west to east, a straight line of seven miles, measures in its windings over eleven miles in a series of cascades, the principal of which in the lower part of the town has a total fall in a mile's distance, of about one hundred and sixty-three feet. When we consider the multitude and great height of its falls — many of them now utilized for machinery — the breadth and fertility of its intervales, the grandeur of the mountains that overhang its headwaters, and the extensive and picturesque lakes — the delight of sportsmen and tourists — that supply its equable currents, the Androscoggin must be regarded as by far the most interesting and beautiful river in Maine, if not in the United States.

Dr. Lapham does not think the corporate name of the town was selected to honor Count Rumford, but rather that when the distinguished savant, Benjamin Thompson, a proprietor, though never a settler in the town, had a title conferred upon him for his political and scientific services, he selected a name meant to honor his native town, Concord, New Hampshire, which was first incorporated under the name of Rumford.

[1] History of Rumford, Oxford County, Maine, from its first settlement in 1779, to the present time. By William B. Lapham, Augusta. Press of the "Maine Farmer," 1890.

It might even be conjectured, from some of the racy anecdotes told by the doctor of the adventures and perils into which some of the settlers ran in their pursuit across a dangerous river, of their favorite potation that there was a premeditated purpose of honoring the name of the popular beverage in the name of their town. The fact, however, is that the name was imposed upon them by the discretion of the legislature, the towns-folks having petitioned to be incorporated under the insignificant name of China; and however much the stimulus of strong drink may have contributed to solace the pioneers under the hardships of their primitive life in the wilderness, it is probable that it was an equally potent element for good or evil in the settlement of every other old town in Maine.

Rumford, Maine, was settled by a colony from Concord, New Hampshire, originally called Pennacook, but incorporated as Rumford, and the migration happened in this wise. Pennacook had been granted by the General Court of Massachusetts as a part of that colony's lands, on the usual conditions, to a number of families in 1725, who had settled upon and partly cleared it. But the government of New Hampshire, organized under the proprietary rights of Mason and Gorges, granted the same territory in 1727 to Jonathan Wiggin and one hundred and six others, who in 1733 commenced proceedings to dislodge the Massachusetts settlers.

The disputed title was referred for settlement to King George the Second, who, in 1740, decided in favor of the New Hampshire grant. Then the inhabitants who had procured incorporation as the town of Rumford, petitioned the General Court for indemnity, and were granted the present township of Rumford in Maine in compensation for the New Hampshire lands they had lost.

The proprietors held their meetings in Concord, so named to commemorate the amicable settlement between the disputing claimants, and a part of their number — among them Thompson, afterward Count Rumford — never came to Maine at all. It was not till 1779 that the first settlers came, and by the time the plantation was well under way, the revolutionary war had ended, the constitution had been formed and ratified, and that happiest, and on the whole, most prosperous era in our history, had begun before our terrible civil war, and before the luxury attendant upon the vast expansion of private and corporate wealth had greatly modified the social equality of the people.

Happily, too, the Indian wars, with their horrors of massacre, burning and captivity, had just closed, though the terror of the savages was perpetuated by the memory of their recent attack upon the neighboring settlement of Bethel. The scattered hamlets of Maine were peculiarly exposed to these depredations, because the Maine tribes were specially cruel and warlike, and the compact settlements about Massachusetts bay could more easily organize for mutual defense.

But the little frontier colony was never raided, and we must believe that between the Indians and the settlers there exsisted friendly rela-

tions, since it is related that the first settler, Jonathan Keyes, having cleared a lot and built a camp in Rumford, returned to Massachusetts, leaving only his two sons, one fourteen, the other nine years old, with no other neighbors for the whole winter but the roving aborigines.

Doctor Lapham does not attempt to put the annals of the town into a continuous narrative. Nor, indeed, could he have done so. There was nothing distinctive in the events that affected these people. They passed through precisely the same changes from poverty to comparative independence, from privation to comfort, from rudeness and isolation to the enjoyments and refinements of social life, that other communities did in a hundred other towns built up at the same time.

The first comers generally belonged to the Congregational or standing order, and, as soon as the members and means permitted, established a church and a ministry, which have had succession to the present time. But this was in fact the state religion, the minister being hired and paid by the town. It is the fatality of a religion made a part of a political establishment to grow formal, and lose the fervor of devoutness. Accordingly Methodism, a more intense type of piety, soon came in and brought under its influence the minds to whom the concerns of the spiritual world were more absorbing realities. Later on appeared the first heralds of that rationalism which has everywhere in New England undermined the integrity of the ancient faith of Calvin and Knox, this time, as generally in the Maine towns, in the persons of the Universalists, disciples of Ballou.

The temperance sentiment came rather late, for reasons perhaps already hinted at, but when it came it was sincere, genuine and permanent, and disposed to favor and have faith in those measures of legal repression which have always commended themselves to Maine temperance people.

In politics a similar revolution is apparent from the record of the voting. Going heartily and almost unanimously for separation, the Rumford citizens gave their votes, with strong majorities, to the democratic candidates, up to the great crisis that accompanied the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, when in common with the democrats of Oxford, Hancock, Waldo and Penobscot counties, they went over in large bodies, under the leadership of Mr. Hamlin and the Morrills, to the antislavery, and so to the Republican party.

But if our author does not entertain us with a continuous story, because there is none to tell, he admirably and judiciously arranges such material as he has. There is a continuous record of the succession of town officers, and of the gradual growth of the municipal budget.

An interesting chapter tells the wonderful career of Count Rumford, who, but for the jealousy of his too partisan neighbors, might have been a citizen of Rumford and of Maine, and have contributed to the country he always loved his invaluable scientific discoveries and his world-wide fame.

A charming chapter, much in the manner of Mr. Macaulay's famous

Third Chapter, tells "How the Early Settlers Lived," and gives us a graphic picture, as Macaulay did for the period he described, of the industrial arts, the stage of mechanical invention, the customs, equipage, dress, modes of travel—all of which are valuable because they are indicative of the exact grade of civilization prevalent in country New England, in the beginning of this century.

There is an excellent genealogy of all the principal early residents of the town for three generations, the collection and arranging of which must have cost much labor and research. It is surprising how soon our own family histories perish out of the memories of the living, when some person, curious in such matters, does not collect and record them. To have this whole work accurately done for a community, is a great service, and the beginning of a genealogical history that may embrace our whole people, and be continued from the beginning of European life on this continent to the latest ages.

This volume will be regarded as a treasure by all the residents and natives of the town whose story it preserves, and have beside an interest for the student and general reader.

The Bradbury Family.[1]

Dr. Lapham has also just completed a valuable contribution to our genealogical history in a memorial of the Bradbury family, with which is connected not only many persons of that name well known in the history of this state and New England, but others equally conspicuous who are allied to it by marriage.

The expense of compiling and editing this important work has been borne by Hon. James Ware Bradbury, the distinguished ex-president of the Maine Historical Society. The late John Merrill Bradbury of Ipswich, Massachusetts, had collected material which forms the nucleus of this work, and Captain Wm. F. Goodwin of the United States army, connected with the Bradburys, had collected other material relating to the family history, some portions of which had been printed in Dawson's Historical Magazine.

Dr. Lapham editor and compiler has arranged these collections supplying omissions and dates, and adding the genealogy of a number of families, making the whole more interesting and readable by interspersing personal sketches and notes concerning allied families, and some authentic and original historic documents. Among these later we select for publication as of general interest a part of the

DIARY OF JOHN BRADBURY OF YORK.

Deacon John[5] Bradbury was the son of Elder John[4] Bradbury of York and a descendant of Thomas[1] Bradbury of Salisbury, Mass., through

[1] Bradbury Memorial, Records of some of the Descendants of Thomas Bradbury of Agamenticus (York) in 1634, and of Salisbury, Mass., in 1638 with a brief sketch of the Bradburys of England compiled chiefly from the collections of the late John Merrill Bradbury of Ipswich, Massachusetts, by William Berry Lapham. Portland: Brown Thurston Company.

Wymond[2] and Wymond [8]. He was born in York and spent the greater part of his life there. He was a lieutenant in the service in the vicinity of Lake George in 1760 and after, and kept a diary which is published in the Bradbury Memorial. The diary of his service and also the following relating to matters in York, were presented to the Maine Historical Society by a descendant, John W. Bradbury, Esq., now of Petersburg, Va. The sons of John Bradbury, Esq., settled in Chesterville, Maine, and among his descendants are Prof. John S. Sewall of the Bangor Theological Seminary, and others of the same family, Simon P. Bradbury of Bangor, Benjamin F. Bradbury of Boston and Mrs. Hannah Goodwin of Boston, the well-known writer of poetry and fiction. The father of John Bradbury, born in Salisbury, Mass, 1697, came to York in early manhood and was the first of this name in town. He was ruling elder of the church, member of the general court and of the council for many years, judge of probate, and a very prominent citizen. John Bradbury jr. was deacon of the church, justice of the peace, representative to the general court and was highly respected. The date of his death is told by his son David, in the last entry in this diary. W. B. L.

DIARY.

York, Me., August 19, 1762. Wednesday last Susanna Hall died and was this day buried.

Likewise news of the death of James Herrick ; likewise Col. Chandler of Worcester.

Aug. 30. This day my father set out for the eastward on public business.

Sept. 3. The face of the earth now looks with a new aspect; a new spring seems to have come again.

Sept. 20. This morning Stephen Simpson died of a wound by a stab near his eye ; son to Jos. Simpson.

Sept. 23. Mr. Gowen arrived here with Samuel Cosen who deserted last spring, committed him to goal.

Oct. 1. Sent 2 barrels of apples to my brother to Halifax.

Oct. 4. This day Mr. Gowen set out for Boston to carry Coson the deserter.

Oct. 12. Took Stephen Frost who deserted from Halifax. He got bonds which cleared him from going to goal.

18. This day heard the agreeable news of St. John and Newfoundland being retaken with the loss of but 4 men.

Oct. 19. Set out that day with a number of gentlemen for Aggamenticus; arrived on ye top of ye hill at 12 o'clock. At 1 set out for home and arrived at Lt. Frosts at 3 and dined. Shot at a number of fowl and geese and killed 8.

Oct. 20. This night had our fowl dressed; had a sivil entertainment at Mr. Moses.

Oct. 21. This day my father set out for New London on some business of Mr. Holts.

Oct. 28. This day Elder Goodwin died by a fall from a house.

Nov. 8. Received a letter from my brother Jos. at Halifax with news that he had engaged to stay all winter.

Nov. 14. Last night some of the men I enlisted got home from Crown Point; likewise from Halifax.

Nov. 16. This day John Lanes and some others arrived home from Crown point.

Nov. 22. This day Capt. Samuel Black arrived hear from halifax with 4 officers and 50 or 60 soldiers, 6 of them sick.

Nov. 23. This day put them ashore in a house.

Nov. 24. Last night one of them named Cook died, and this day buried. Capt. Black sailed for Boston with the rest.

Nov. 30. Wm. Grow arrived home from Annapolis.

Dec. 3. This day Nathaniel Sparhawk Junier was drowned going to Portsmouth.

Dec. 6. Richard Banks jun. died.

Dec. 11. This evening the widow Card was buried.

Dec. 13. Last night Humility Jonson died.

Dec. 14. Last night Susannah Currier died.

Dec. 16. Last night the wife of Job Banks died.

Dec. 23. This day by order of the colonel all the militia met att Mr. Ingraham's to Receive their Commission under the New King.

Jany. ye 1st. 1763. Attended publick worship.

Jany. 3. Last night a very sevear Snow storm set in snow fell 18 inches deep.

Jany. 4. This day the Court was to set here, But the Weather being so bad, was adjourned to to-morrow.

Jany. 11. This day Summoned in his majesty's Name to attend as a Juryman of inquest on the Body of Richard Brawn found dead in the woods who being the Night before too free with Rum in going home, the snow being deep and weather extreme cold fell down and perished.

Jany. 17. News of a peace.

Jany. 18. This day Capt. Jefferds and myself insured one hundred pounds old tenor for Capt. Junkins on board the sloop Phenix, Abram Adams master, from Boston to York at the rate of fifty per cent.

Jany. 20. This day Jo Minter and Lucy Kingsbury were married.

Jany. 24. This day set out for Boston and arrived to Boston the 27 day, 4 o'clock afternoon.

Jany. 28. This day a packet arrived hear with Certain News of a peace or cessation of arms.

Feb. 7. This day a Cessation of Arms between the Nations was publickly read and the guns of ye Castle and Batteries were discharged on the same account.

Feb. 8. This day all the provincial officers were invited to attend at Consort hall at 7 o'clock to drink the king's health; attended accordingly and many loyal healths were drank.

Feb. 19. All the recruiting officers desired to wait on a committee

this morning at the British Coffee House relating to Billeting Money; attended accordingly.

Feb. 24. This day Major Hill, Esq., Chadbourne and Gowen set out for home.

Feb. 25. This day my father set out for York with stores &c., &c.

March 5. This day the Recruiters Billeting Roll was carried into the Counsell.

March 10. This day received Stephen Frosts wages from Col. Emery 1: 5: 3.

March 17. Sailed this morning at 2 o'clock with Capt. Bragden; arrived at York at 1 o'clock afternoon; Dined at Deacon Saywards.

York April ye 1, 1763. A fine, pleasant day But a vast Body of snow on the ground.

April 29. Began to plant and sow.

May 12. Capt. Thomas Bragden chosen Representative in ye Room of my Father.

May 17. This day Nathaniel Barrell came home after being absent 3 years, to the great joy of his wife and friends.

June 2. Last Wednesday being ye anniversary for the Election of Counsellors, my father was elected as one, and this day set out for Boston.

June 17. This day my brother Joseph got home from hallifax after being absent about 14 months.

June 17. Received a letter from my father by Capt. Johnson Moulton, who had been absent more than 2 years.

June 19. This week the Superior Court set hear.

Aug. 11. This day is by the King set apart as a Day of thanksgiving on account of ye peace.

Jany. 19, 1764. This night at 12 o'clock Capt. Joseph Bragden sailed for Mt. Desert with his and Capt. Sawyer's familes on board.

Jany. 26. This day I was married to Mis. Elizabeth Ingraham, daughter of Mr. Edward and Mrs. Lydia Ingraham of York. She in the 20th & I in the 28th year of our age.

May 18. This day I moved my wife up to my father's house.

Oct. ye 29. Monday half after 11 o'clock my wife was delivered of a man child being married 9 months and in ye 3d day.

Nov. 4. This day carried my child forth to baptism; caled his name John.

Jany. 7, 1765. This day moved my family up to Newtown.

May 29, 1765. This day Thomas Haines and Abigail Bradbury were married at Portsmouth.

Jany. 18, 1766. William Bradbury was born.

York, Nov. 20, 1797. This day Theodore Simpson, son of deacon Joseph Simpson about 18 years old, was sent after a horse, and after looking a great part of the following night, was found the next day, hanging by the neck with ye bridle.

March 20, 1766. Last night about 1 o'clock my mother-in-law, Mrs.

Lydia Ingraham departed this life, and ye 22d was buried in ye New farm.

Feb. 11, 1770. This day Mrs. Mary Ingraham was found dead in her house; supposed died in a fit. Likewise Joseph Smith the night following. Both found in one day.

York, Sept. 27, 1770. This day Reverant Mr. George Whitefield preached hear.

Sept. 30, 1770. This day Rev. Mr. Whitefield departed this life at Newbury.

Joseph Bradbury (son of the writer) departed this life after about seven Days sickness of a fever and flux the 28th day of August 1778. A very sensible, beautiful, agreeable and pleasant child.

March 24, 1779. Joseph Bradbury ye second was born about 12 o'clock at night.

May 12, 1777. Thisday Universally beloved Jothan Moulton Departed this life, whose death is greatly lamented.

York, Dec. ye 3d, 1778. This day about 10 o'clock my honored father, John Bradbury, Esq., departed this life after about 8 days sickness of a fever, in the 82d year of his age, and on the 5th was Decently Enterd.

July 13, 1781. This day my unkel Jabez Bradbury died.

May 7, 1781. Dorcas Bradbury was born after sun set.

Oct. 6, 1782. This Day my Eldest sister Lucy Webber Departed this Life, after a long and painful sickness.

Dec. 10, 1786. This day my sister Mariah Simpson died after more than 3 years distress of mind, and but Little use of her reason great part of the time.

York, Sept. 28, 1787. This morning Mrs. Abigail Bradbury, my mother, Departed this life after a long and distressing condition, with a cancer in her thigh, aged 88 years and some weeks.

York, April 8, 1785. This Day went to mill with a handsled on the snow, it being 2 or 3 feet Deep and very Difficult walking.

The judgments of Heaven (are) heavy upon us, Vice and Wickedness reigning in triumph, Poverty and want Flourishing, Taxes and the poor increasing, old age and Death hastening, Trouble increasing upon us and god Departing from us.

July ye 8, 1783. Jotham Bradbury was born.

Jany ye 8, 1784. Ye above Joseph Bradbury departed this life after about 3 weeks sickness by a Distressing Cough.

Apr. 17, 1779. This day bought one bushel and half of corn of Samuel preble and paid him 30 dollars or Nine Pounds lawful money for the same.

Jany. 27, 1761. This day my oldest daughter Lydia was married to Thomas Davenport of Hallowell.

Feb. 17, 1791. This day my son & son-in-law set out for Chester (Chesterville).

Feb. 16, 1800. This day my son-in-law and daughter arrive here after a year's absence with their fifth child.

Feb. 2 1791. Set out for Hallowell.

March 21, 1791. My son Joseph set out for Chester. (Chesterville).

Births of my children

i. John, Oct. 29, 1764.
ii. William, Jany 18, 1766.
iii. Lydia, Aug. 27, 1767.
iv. Joanna, Nov. 6, 1768.
v. Samuel, Feb. 9, 1771.
vi. Elizabeth, Jany. 26, 1773.
vii. Mary, Nov. 8, 1774.
viii. Joseph, Nov. 9, 1776.
ix. Joseph, March 14, 1779.
x. Dorcas, May 7, 1781.
xi. Jotham, July 8, 1783.
xii. David, June 5, 1785.

Aug. 31, 1801. Joseph Bradbury set out for Chester, perhaps for the last time.

June 14, 1806. This day my Brother Cotton Bradbury died in the 84, year of his age, sudden.

York, August 30, 1781. This day I was chosen by 20 out of 23 votes for a deacon in the first church of Christ in York.

York, July 11, 1802, This day Samuel Bradbury and Dorcas Remick ware married. May their Long Courtship be Rewarded with Peace in this Life and happiness in a future state.

Dec. 3, 1801. Paid Rev. Mr. Messenger in Cyder & for his paying constable Eliot Rayns my Tax for 1800 which was 7 dollars and 38 cents.

June 28, 1812. David Bradbury and Sofia Chase were married.

Oct. 28, 1813. Rufus Simpson and Dorcas Bradbury were married.

York, July 11, 1821. This day my honored father, John Bradbury departed this life in the 85th year of his age, and on the 18th was decently Intered by me his youngest son David Bradbury.

SIR FERDINANDO GORGES AND HIS PROVINCE OF MAINE, INCLUDING THE CHARTER GRANTED TO HIM, HIS WILL, HIS LETTERS AND ALL OTHER ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, edited by James Phinney Baxter, Volume I, Boston, Mass., published by the Prince Society, pp, 260.

This is one of the most interesting and valuable historical volumes of the year. It gives the results of Mr. Baxter's researches in the British museum, in the office of public records, also at Plymouth, England, Bristol, Wraxall, Lambeth in the Bodlean library, at Thirlstane House, and many other places which he visited and where he became possessed of copies of original letters and documents bearing the signature of Gorges, numbering about two hundred. These are followed by a reprint with copious notes of a rare and interesting book published in London in 1622, called "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England. The volume is illustrated, and two more are to follow upon the same subject.

Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, volume x. The initial article of this volume, is a biographical sketch of Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, occupying twenty-seven pages. The remainder of the volume is taken up with the proceedings of the Virginia Federal constitution of 1788. Historically the volume is a valuable one.

Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, volume iii. The entire volume is devoted to the campaigns around New York and Brooklyn in 1776, and forms a very interesting account of the early campaigns of the war for independence.

EDITORIAL ITEMS.

A private letter, with permission of the writer, is printed from Rev. John O. Fiske, D.D., of Bath. We are very sure that from a writer so well-informed and so genial, our able contributors, Messrs. Elwell and Deane, will pardon the bluntness of his contradictions.

Bath, April 18, 1890.

Hon. George F. Talbot, Portland, Me.

My Dear and Honored Classmate and Friend: — With the garrulousness of an old man who has little to do beside coughing, I desire in a gossipy way to congratulate you on the very interesting matter of your second quarterly number of historical collections. I have read them all with pleasure. But in the atrabiliousness of an old anatomy, struggling and groaning under mortal disease, I desire permission to say that I am moved with intense choler against Mr. Elwell for presuming to say in his valuable notice of Governor Lincoln "Seventy-four years ago, when as yet no voice had been raised against slavery in this land, and to doubt its sacredness was the one unpardonable crime"; page 152.

Why, what does this biographer mean? Old Doctor Sam. Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, published a strong sermon against the sin of slaveholding in 1776. The Quakers from their very origin, and in this country in 1688, openly and earnestly denounced slavery, and petitioned our first Congress against it. Five times before 1808 the Presbyterian General Assembly denounced the sin of slavery in good set terms. At the very first meeting of the Methodist General Conference in 1784, similar testimony was unanimously given, and orders were passed that ministers holding slaves should be expelled! Before the revolution Virginia petitioned Parliament that no more slaves should be sent into the colony. In 1787 slavery was excluded, by vote of Congress, from the northwest territory. Mr. Jefferson, who voted for that ordinance, "trembled when he remembered that God was just," etc., etc., etc. What does Brother Elwell mean?

So I would have told Llewellyn Deane, whose sketch of his father is so valuable, that there never was a prominent lawyer in this state named John Orr. It was Benjamin of Topsham and Brunswick whom he should have named.

Our old friend, Cyrus Woodman, is well discussed.

But enough. I wish it were in my power to get up to some of the Historical Society meetings and to Portland.

Affectionately yours,

John O. Fiske.

DANFORTH'S DEED TO THE TOWN OF YORK.

"But there is very grave doubt whether there ever was, in fact, any such deed. It is not recorded chronologically; nor is it revealed by a search of the present imperfect index to the deeds still tolerated in use by York County; the present town clerk knows nothing of it; it is not mentioned by either Sullivan or Williamson. Who ever saw it? Who made the above alleged abstract from it? It is, of course, possible that such a deed was executed to trustees for the town, as alleged, and that it may have been destroyed with the other papers in the Indian raid of 1692, without having gone upon the county records; but, even in that case, it is very peculiar that it was not known to Sullivan or Williamson, or at any rate, not considered worthy of mention by them."

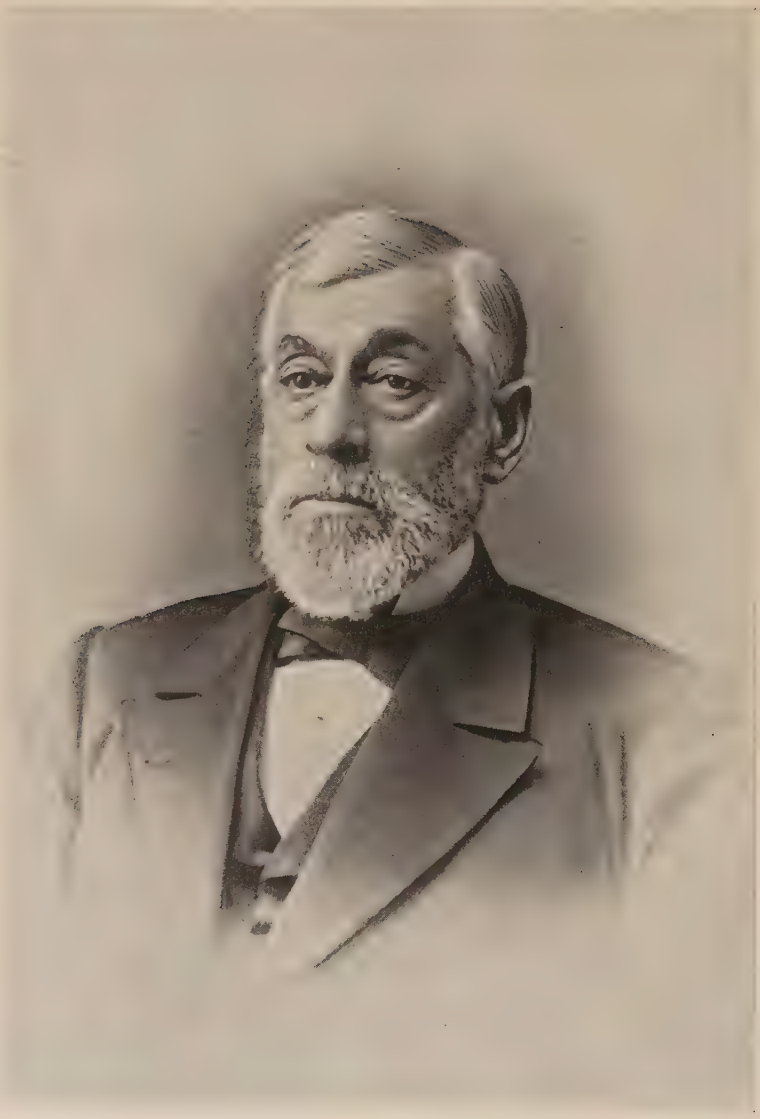
Ante pp. 222, 223.

The writer of the query referred to had the good fortune, while searching the indices of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings (x–164) to find that David Sewall, who was for many years town clerk of York, had made and presented to the above Society copies of various papers of historical importance, and that among these papers was a copy of the above deed which purported to be "copied from the Record in York Town Book 500 &c."

On visiting Boston and making examination of Mr. Sewall's copies, this copy was found, and the librarian of that Society, Hon. Samuel A. Green, courteously promised to either furnish a copy for publication in the Maine Historical Society's Collections and Proceedings, or to make the paper the subject of a communication, so that in some way it might become available. This copy is embodied in Dr. Green's communication, as printed in the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held April 10, 1890. W. M. S.

No proceedings of the Maine Historical Society appear in this volume. The next in order for publication are the proceedings in honor of Professor Packard, too long for the space allowed in the present number, but too interesting to be abbreviated or partly printed. They will appear in the October issue.

Since the issue of our last quarterly number the Maine Historical Society has suffered a severe loss in the death of one of its most efficient members, Hon. William Goold of Windham. He was a most indefatigable explorer among all the accessible materials of our state and national history, a copious and facile writer, whose many and important papers have enriched our collections, and a punctual attendant of all the meetings of the Society. It will be difficult to find in our membership the man, who will take up the pen he has laid down, and carry on the work in which he took so delighted an interest. More formal and complete notice of his character and work will appear later in our publications.



JAMES TIFT CHAMPLIN, D.D., LL.D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 20, 1890.

BY HENRY S. BURRAGE, D.D.

BROWNING sings of

> One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break.

Such a man, in any sphere of life, will have a place among those who bring things to pass, and who in consequence, sooner or later, are deemed worthy of

> Honor and reverence, and the good repute
> That follows faithful service as its fruit.

Such a man was James Tift Champlin, the sixth president of Colby University.

He was a son of John and Martha (Armstrong) Champlin, and was born in Colchester, Connecticut, June 9, 1811. Soon after his birth his parents removed to Lebanon in the same state, where he spent his boyhood and youth on his father's farm. The desire for a collegiate training at length took possession of him, and in the autumn of 1828, when a little more than seventeen years of age, he repaired to Colchester Academy, where he entered upon a course of preparation for college under Preceptor Otis. His studies were continued at Plainfield Academy, under Preceptor Witter.

In September, 1830, he was admitted to the Freshman class in Brown University. Dr. Wayland had entered upon his duties as president of the University in February, 1827, and his strong personality made an abiding impression upon the young student. "I greatly admired the man," was his testimony in his later years, "and received a great impulse from his life, his teachings, and especially from his sermons in the church, and his short, pithy addresses to the students in the chapel." At the graduation of his class in 1834, he delivered an oration on "The Phi-

losopher and the Philanthropist Compared," with the valedictory address. Among his classmates were Hon. J. R. Bullock, afterward governor of Rhode Island, and the Rev. Silas Bailey, D.D., president of Granville College, now Denison University, at Granville, Ohio, but later president of Franklin College, at Franklin, Indiana.

A few months before he received his degree, Mr. Champlin was elected principal of the Manual Labor School at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, near Providence. But the position was not an agreeable one, and in a few months he returned to the University as a resident graduate. In September, 1835, he was appointed a tutor in the University, and retained the office until March, 1838. Rev. J. S. Maginnis, D.D., in the preceding year, had resigned the pastorate of the First Baptist Church in Portland, Maine, in order to accept the professorship of Biblical Theology in the seminary at Hamilton, New York. He suggested Tutor Champlin as a suitable candidate for the vacancy, and the latter came to Portland and preached in the old church on Federal street the first two Sundays in January, 1838. Correspondence followed, and February 5, 1838, the church voted unanimously to extend a call to Mr. Champlin. The society concurred on the following day. Mr. Champlin preferred not to decide the question of duty in reference to this call until he had become better acquainted with the people among whom he was invited to labor. After spending several weeks in Portland he addressed a letter, April 11, to the committee of the church, announcing his acceptance of the call, and having been received to membership, April 30, from the Baptist church in Lebanon, Connecticut, with which he united in his boyhood, Mr. Champlin was ordained in Portland, May 3, 1838. At this service Dr. Dwight of Portland read the Scriptures and offered prayer; President Pattison of Waterville preached the sermon; Rev. Adam Wilson of Portland offered the ordaining prayer; Rev. Thomas Curtis of Bangor gave the charge to the candidate; Rev. T. O. Lincoln, pastor of the Free Street Church, Portland, extended the hand of fellowship; Rev. Z. Bradford of Yarmouth delivered the address to the church; and the concluding prayer was offered by Rev. Almon Felch of New Gloucester. Mr. Champlin entered upon his labors with great earnestness and proved an efficient and successful pas-

tor. But from the first his health was very precarious. His lungs were weak and susceptible to cold and irritation, and preaching greatly aggravated the difficulty. But he loved the work and was happy in it.

In the second year of his pastorate, June 12, 1839, Mr. Champlin was married to Mary Ann Pierce of Providence, Rhode Island, President Wayland performing the ceremony.

In 1840, about eighty new members were added to the church. On the annual Fast Day, 1841, Mr. Champlin preached a sermon on the "Death of President Harrison," which was published by request of the society. But pleasantly as he was situated, and much as he loved his work, the bronchial difficulty that had troubled him from the beginning of his pastorate increased, and there were times when he was unable to preach. At the annual commencement of Waterville College, August 11, 1841, he was elected professor of Ancient Languages in that institution. The conviction already had been frequently forced upon his mind that it would be impossible for him long to continue in the pastorate. Yet he could not endure the thought of engaging in any entirely secular calling. A professorship at Waterville would enabled him to continue his labors for the higher interests of mankind; and in a letter, dated August 23, 1841, he presented to the church his resignation as pastor. In this letter, after stating the reasons that had led him to request dismission, he said, referring to the position offered to him at Waterville: —

> As this office will enable me to avail myself of my early studies, and at the same time presents a field of usefulness perhaps fully as important as the ministry, while it will relieve me almost entirely of the most injurious part of my present employment, I feel myself bound to ask my dismission as pastor of this church in anticipation of accepting the appointment.

The letter closed with an expression of sincere and heartfelt thanks for the Christian kindness and courtesy which the members of the church had invariably shown to its pastor and his family. The resignation was accepted, and a committee of the church, consisting of Thomas Hammond, Joseph Ricker and Joseph Hay, addressed to Mr. Champlin a letter which closed with these words: —

> Allow us to express our highest sense of the value of your labor among us, of the truly evangelical character of your pulpit ministrations, of the

ability and impartiality with which you have expounded to us the word of God, and of the solicitude with which you have watched over our spiritual interests. We heartily thank you for your labors of love among us, for your patience and forbearance, and for all the means you have adopted to do us good. The Lord abundantly reward you and bless you in the new and effective sphere of usefulness which He has opened before you.

The society also adopted appreciative resolutions prepared by a committee, of which Lemuel Cobb was chairman.

Dr. Champlin removed to Waterville, September 8, 1841, and entered upon what proved to be his life work, succeeding in his professorship the late Phinehas Barnes. Waterville was then a remote country village on the stage line between Augusta and Bangor. For twenty years the college had struggled with poverty, and as yet only the beginnings of a collegiate institution had been made. It was still the day of small things. The endowment was small; the equipment was small; the salaries were small and the classes were small. But the institution had a strong corps of instructors. Three of them, Dr. G. W. Keely, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; Dr. J. R. Loomis, afterward for twenty years president of Lewisburg, now Bucknell University, professor of chemistry and natural history; and Dr. Champlin, professor of Greek and Latin, were graduates of Brown University. Loomis and Champlin, who were pupils of Dr. Wayland, had imbibed his spirit and adopted his methods, and this last was also true of Professor Keely, who was a tutor at Brown in the first year of Dr. Wayland's presidency.

In 1843, Rev. David N. Sheldon succeeded Eliphaz Fay as president of the college. At the same time Martin B. Anderson, a graduate of the college and afterward president of Rochester University, was made professor of rhetoric. These all were men of intellectual strength, and by their ability and sound scholarship they gave to the college a reputation which it had not before secured.

Early in his connection with the college Professor Champlin felt the need of a better edition of "Demosthenes on the Crown" than the one by Mr. Negris, in use at that time. Gathering around him the best helps he could obtain he devoted himself untiringly to his task, availing himself of the encouragement and criticism of his interested associates. The work was finished and

published in 1843, and immediately came into use in many of our American colleges. A review of the work, by Professor Felton of Harvard College presumably, appeared in the "North American Review" for January, 1844 (pp. 240-43). After indicating what is required in a good critical edition of this "most valuable and interesting among all the remains of Attic eloquence," the reviewer said: —

> These conditions have been ably fulfilled by the present editor. The text he has presented is a great improvement upon that of Mr. Negris. It is fairly printed, and on good paper. The only fault to be found with this part of the work is a number of typographical errors in that portion of the text which accidentally was deprived of the benefit of the editor's revision. A well written preface explains the editor's plan, and states the sources from which he has drawn his chief materials. This is followed by a copious analysis, embracing a general sketch of the plan of the oration, and then a careful enumeration of the topics, paragraph by paragraph, as they are successively handled by the orator. This analysis is carefully and accurately executed, and will be of material advantage to the student for understanding the orator's arrangement. The text is followed by a body of notes, containing ample explanations of legal terms and technical formulas, historical facts comprehended in the political life of the orator, and careful analyses of the difficult passages. The best authorities have been fully consulted, and the information they contain judiciously combined. Hermann's excellent manual of "Political Antiquities," and Thirwall's learned and impartial "History of Greece," have been constantly used. We approve the plan of this edition, and think the execution of it faithful and able. The work is a valuable addition to the series of classical books published in the United States.

Professor Champlin's edition of the "Oration on the Crown" passed through many editions, and for more than thirty years was the text book generally in use in American colleges in the study of this masterly oration.

Other classical works followed. In 1848, Professor Champlin published "Select Popular Orations of Demosthenes;" in 1849, a translation of Kühner's Latin Grammar from the German; in 1850, an edition of the "Oration of Æschines on the Crown;" in 1852, a "Short and Comprehensive Greek Grammar." In 1855, in recognition of his scholarly worth the University of Rochester conferred upon Professor Champlin the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

In 1857, on the resignation of President Pattison, he was

elected president of the college and professor of moral and intellectual philosophy. The difficulties of the position he clearly recognized. In his inaugural address delivered Tuesday afternoon, August 10, 1858, he said: —

Knowing full well, as I do, the history and condition of the college, I do not regard the office as a sinecure. Following a succession of able and learned men, and entering upon my duties at an important crisis in the history of the institution, I see nothing but labor and responsibility before me, and in these indeed, I find my chief incitement. Whatever may be the illusions of youth in this matter, one at length learns that labor is less irksome than leisure, and responsibility more inspiring than a state of easy, quiet security. A fair field for the exertion of one's powers, the opportunity of doing something for the higher interests of society, the hope of giving greater efficiency to an important instrumentality, the consciousness that a large circle of interested spectators are watching the working of a new arrangement, are among the most powerful and wholesome incitements which can be addressed to the human mind.

Such motives seems to me to exist in all their power in the present case. I admit the responsibility of the position. I welcome the labor and hope to be able to approve myself to the friends of the institution as a faithful servant whether successful or not. Indeed, I see much to encourage in the case. With a highly eligible situation, with a respectable number of interesting and interested students, with an increasing band of Alumni to advocate our interests wherever they go, and a large constituency of friends, who, I trust, will show themselves ready when the call is made—as it must be soon—to supply the only great need of the institution, "material aid," I cannot but feel that there is no ground for discouragement. Certain it is that if Waterville College, in its present state of maturity, and with its acknowledged advantages of situation, etc., does not in the future make reasonable progress, it will be either from the want of proper management here, or for the want of proper co-operation and support among its friends. Let us hope that neither will be wanting, that the designs of Providence in planting the institution may not be frustrated.

In the spirit of these noble words, recognizing freely the obstacles to be overcome, Dr. Champlin entered vigorously and intelligently upon his new task. Waterville College, in 1857, had three buildings, very much out of repair, and an invested fund of about twelve or fifteen thousand dollars. To increase this fund was a matter of present urgent necessity, and in 1859, Rev. Horace T. Love was employed by the college for the purpose. He succeeded in obtaining subscriptions to the amount of twenty-five

thousand dollars, and then relinquished his agency. The work was soon taken up by President Champlin and other members of the faculty, but their self-denying efforts were not crowned with great success. National affairs, to the exclusion of other things, attracted the attention and demanded the energies of the people.

But, in the third year of the civil war, when in Boston one day, Dr. Champlin learned from the late Jonah G. Warren, D.D., then corresponding secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, that Gardner Colby of Newton, some of whose early years were spent in Winslow and Waterville, and whose mother Dr. Chaplin, the first president of the college, had befriended, was meditating generous purposes toward Waterville College. Dr. Champlin called on him at once, and the result was that Mr. Colby attended the commencement of the college in August that year. On commencement day Dr. Champlin received from Mr. Colby the following note: —

WATERVILLE, Aug. 10, 1864.

REV. J. T. CHAMPLIN, D.D.,

My Dear Sir: — I propose to give Waterville College the sum of fifty thousand dollars ($50,000), the same to be paid without interest as follows, viz.: —

Twenty-five thousand dollars when your subscriptions shall amount to one hundred thousand dollars, independent of any from me.

Twenty-five thousand dollars when one hundred thousand dollars is paid on your subscriptions, not including any from me; and upon the condition that the president and a majority of the faculty shall be members in good standing of regular Baptist churches.

If either or any of these conditions are broken, the entire fifty thousand dollars shall revert to myself, or my heirs, or assigns. I remain,

Yours very truly,

GARDNER COLBY.

The contents of this note were made known to the alumni and friends of the college at the commencement dinner. Rev. F. W. Bakeman, D.D., who was then a student in the college, and as one of the marshals of the day, was present at the dinner in the old town hall, has given a graphic account of the scene when the announcement of this proposed gift was made: —

Dr. Champlin arose and stood a brief pause, as if to command the unreserved attention of the company. How pale he looked! How strangely his voice seemed to shake as he spoke! There were no tears in his eyes, but there was what makes tears in his utterance. As long as I live I

shall recall the grand old man in that historic hour, which was to him the victor's crown, after years of hardest warfare. And now the announcement was given that the gentleman at his side, a short, plump little man, with benevolent appearing face, who might have been taken for one of the Cheeryble brothers, had made a definite and final proposition to give the college the sum of fifty thousand dollars as a permanent fund, on condition that the friends of the institution should add one hundred thousand. The announcement ran through that company like a kindling fire. Mr. Colby was known to few; his intention was known to fewer still. The rumor had not got abroad. It was a genuine surprise. For a moment there was stillness, as in the hush before the breaking of the tempest, and then — there was a tempest — a wild demonstration of joy and glad surprise, such as I have never since witnessed. Hands, feet, voices, knives and forks rapping on the tables, all bore a part in the concert of applause. Men shook hands and fairly hugged each other in their transports of joy. Such unfeigned delight is seldom seen. The hall rang again and again to their cheers. It seemed as if they would never stop. The fountains of affections had been broken up, and their torrents could not be easily checked. Never from that day have I questioned the devotion of Colby alumni. Fifty thousand dollars does not seem so great now as it did then. For Waterville, under the circumstances, that sum was a princely fortune. But there was more than this in consideration. Men saw that this donation meant one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of endowment. They had faith to believe that it would be raised. In this glad hour the long needed inspiration had come and all things were now possible. Men realized instinctively that on this auspicious day a new era had begun for our long struggling institution. This hour marked an epoch. Meanwhile, through all this storm of applause, the Cheeryble brother, who was its beneficent cause, sat blushingly. To the clamorous calls of his name he made a brief response, no word of which can I recall. The facts of that day crowded out words. What Mr. Colby felt on that occasion no man can know. I have often thought that ten years of life would be a small price for the experience of so blissful an hour. Finally the doxology was sung, and the commencement of 1864 was over; the night-time in the history of Waterville College was ended, and morning had come to Colby University!

In raising the one hundred thousand dollars required in order to secure Mr. Colby's conditional gift, Dr. Champlin performed heroic service, as did some of his colleagues; and the money was at length obtained, Then, in 1866, at Dr. Champlin's suggestion, and entirely without any understanding with Mr. Colby, the trustees voted to apply to the legislature of the state for an act changing the name of the college to Colby University; and the act was passed January 23, 1867.

The college now entered upon an era of prosperity. Added funds came into its treasury for building purposes. Memorial Hall, costing about forty thousand dollars was erected; Coburn Hall, costing more than twenty-five thousand dollars, followed; then the old chapel, now Champlin Hall, was remodeled at an expense of six thousand dollars, and the North College at an expense of eight thousand five hundred dollars. And yet in 1872, when these improvements had been made and paid for, the invested funds of the college had increased to two hundred thousand dollars. Of the money thus expended, or invested, Dr Champlin obtained (directly or indirectly) and collected nearly two hundred thousand dollars; and as chairman of the prudential committee he had the entire oversight of the above named improvements, and the chief direction of the investment of the college funds.

During this period of upbuilding and endowing the college, Dr. Champlin prosecuted his studies with old-time vigor. When he became president of the college he devoted himself to the duties of his professorship of mental and intellectual philosophy with the same interest with which he had hitherto devoted himself to the Latin and Greek classics. He soon published an edition of "Butler's Analogy and Ethical Discourses." This was followed, in 1860, by "A Text Book on Intellectual Philosophy;" in 1861, by his "First Principles of Ethics;" and in 1868, by his "Lessons on Political Economy." These works passed through successive editions, and were used as text books in other colleges. But, as the late Mr. H. W. Richardson, editor of the "Portland Daily Advertiser," and a pupil of Dr. Champlin, said: —

> The service which Dr. Champlin rendered to the college and to this generation is not measured or even indicated by a list of his published works. He was not merely or even primarily a literary man. He was pre-eminently a man of affairs,—a man who would naturally have become a great merchant, or a successful politician. He edited Greek and Latin text books because in the place where he found himself that was the thing to do. When he left the professorship of ancient languages, he turned to other studies without regret, and with the same industry and sound appreciation of the requirements of his new position.

August 2, 1870, in connection with the annual commencement, President Champlin delivered a historical discourse, it being the fiftieth anniversary of the college. Having reviewed the history of the college he closed with these words: —

Standing now, as we do, at the middle point of the first century of the existence of the institution, whether we look backward or forward, have we not reason to thank God and take courage? The college has been useful. The University, I have no doubt, is destined to a still higher usefulness. The foundations are already laid, and well laid, and the superstructure, I am confident, will gradually rise in fitting beauty and proportions. It will have a history to be recounted, I have no doubt, at the close of another half-century, and as the centuries roll on, chapter after chapter will have to be added to this history, till some future generation, looking back over its whole course, and estimating the influence which has gone forth from it to bless the world, will come to realize, if we do not now, how great a boon to a community is a Christian institution of learning, established and sustained and nurtured up to a high purpose by the prayers, the labors and the contributions of the wise and good.

Dr. Champlin now felt that his work as president of the college was done, and at the commencement in July, 1872, he asked to be relieved of the burden he had carried so long. By request of the trustees he remained at his post a year longer. When he then retired from the service of the college, Colby University had an invested fund of two hundred and fourteen thousand dollars, and no debts. He had been connected with the college thirty-two years, one-half of the time as professor, and one-half of the time as president.

The trustees of the University, in accepting Dr. Champlin's resignation, adopted the following resolution: —

Resolved, That in accepting his resignation, the Board of Trustees would express their gratitude to Dr. Champlin for the long continued, diligent and laborious services which he has rendered as an instructor, and for the singular devotedness to the general interests and welfare of the University which he has uniformly manifested; and, that in retiring from the office of the presidency, he will bear with him the friendship and good wishes of this Board.

In 1860, Brown University conferred upon Dr. Champlin the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in 1872, when he resigned the presidency, Colby University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

It was Dr. Champlin's purpose upon his retirement from the college to spend his remaining years in Waterville. But three of his children were living in Portland, and family ties soon drew him thither. He removed to Portland in April, 1874, and here among his books, and surrounded by those whom he loved, he

passed the closing years of a useful and busy life. In 1875, he was made a trustee of Colby University. Continuing his literary labors he prepared a volume of "Bible Selections for Family Reading." Then, returning to his classical studies, he prepared a volume of "Selections from Tacitus," which he published in 1876. In 1880, he published a work on the Constitution of the United States.

Of his minor publications the following are worthy of mention: In 1846, Dr. Champlin preached a sermon before the Maine Baptist Convention at Brunswick, entitled "Apollos the Preacher," which was published by the Convention. He published also the following review articles: "Popular Lecturing," Christian Review, April, 1850; "Grote's History of Greece," Christian Review, October, 1851; "Bishop Butler," Christian Review, July, 1854; "Hume's Philosophy," Christian Review, April, 1855; "Moral Philosophy," Christian Review, April, 1860; "Protection and Free Trade," Baptist Quarterly, October, 1873; and "Psychology," Baptist Quarterly, April, 1874. June 24, 1856, he delivered an address before the Society of Missionary Inquiry of Newton Theological Institution on "Religion and Philanthropy." March 14, 1878, he read a paper before the Maine Historical Society, entitled "Educational Institutions in Maine while a District of Massachusetts," which is included in volume VIII of the Society's Collections. He also frequently accepted invitations to deliver addresses before educational societies, teachers' conventions, lyceums, etc.

In 1872, at the annual meeting of the Maine Baptist Education Society at Bath, it was voted, on motion of Dr. Champlin, "That it is expedient that an effort be made to endow Waterville Classical Institute by starting a subscription to raise for it a fund of fifty thousand dollars." At the meeting of the same society, in 1873, a committee was appointed to confer with the trustees of Colby University in reference to this matter. One of the results of that conference was the passage of resolutions by the Board of Trustees recommending "That an effort be made to raise one hundred thousand dollars at the earliest day practicable for the endowment of three preparatory schools, one of which shall be located at Waterville, one at some place in the eastern section of the state, and one in the western section." At the meeting of the Education Society, in 1874, it was announced

that ex-Governor Coburn had offered to give fifty thousand dollars for the endowment of Waterville Classical Institute, provided fifty thousand dollars additional should be raised for the endowment of the other proposed schools. Rev. A. R. Crane undertook the work of raising this fifty thousand dollars, and the money when secured was committed to the trustees of Colby University for the benefit of Hebron Academy and Houlton Academy (now Ricker Classical Institute), as was Governor Coburn's gift for the benefit of Waterville Classical Institute (now Coburn Classical Institute, in memory of Hon. Stephen Coburn and his son, Charles M. Coburn). Dr. Champlin took a very deep interest in the endowment of these preparatory schools, and in 1878, when the subscription had been completed, he prepared a plan for organizing the department of academies, which was adopted by the trustees of Colby University.

One of his last efforts for the good of others was in behalf of the church in Portland of which he was once pastor. In the great fire in Portland, in 1866, the First Baptist Church lost its house of worship. More than ninety families connected with the church were made homeless by the destructive flames. In rebuilding, a debt was incurred larger than was anticipated. The burden thus assumed was heroically borne, but its weight was at length severely felt. Dr. Champlin, on returning to Portland, had united with the Free Street Church, which was nearer his residence. But he had lost none of his affection for the old church to which he had ministered at the beginning of his public career, and he desired to see a part at least of this burden of debt removed. He accordingly, in 1880, instituted a movement from which in a short time nearly ten thousand seven hundred dollars was secured; the remaining debt, about nine thousand dollars, was refunded at a lower rate of interest, and the First Church entered upon a new stage in its history encouraged and strengthened. Since that time the balance of this debt has been paid.

Dr. Champlin was last in Waterville at the commencement in 1879. The privilege of meeting with his old associates and pupils he greatly enjoyed. They received him with enthusiasm and he rejoiced with them in the evidences of the growing influence and prosperity of the college.

In May, 1880, he spent a few days in Saratoga. But the weather was oppressively warm and being unfavorably affected by it, he hastened back to Portland. The hand of disease, he knew, was upon him. "I am confident that this is paralysis," he said, as feebly he came up the steps of his house in the early morning of his arrival. He remained in his study during the day, and at night, on retiring, he ascended the staircase unaided. When he awoke the next morning his right side was paralyzed.

From the alumni of the college, at the succeeding commencement at Waterville, there came words of affectionate sympathy for one who had so long been "the esteemed and venerated president of the University," accompanied "by a fervent prayer that God would bless the means employed for his restoration, and so extend his useful life that he may continue to be a benefactor to this institution which he has so tenderly cherished and for which he has so zealously labored."

Dr. Champlin slowly improved during the summer months, and several times he rode out a short distance, but the effort was too great, and he did not leave the house again during his illness. His mind remained unclouded until about a month before his death. He often expressed a fear that in the progress of his disease reason would at length fail him, and that he would then become a burden to his family. While he was thus laid aside, Dr. Shailer, pastor of the First Church, with whom he had long been associated in different relations, suddenly died, and when the tidings were borne to his sick chamber he said he counted Dr. Shailer happy in that so suddenly and so peacefully he had been transferred to the better land. Yet no murmur escaped his lips during those long and weary months. Quietly, trustfully he awaited the end. Talking to himself on his bed one day, he was asked what he was talking about. He replied, "Political science; the importance of Christianity to the world; and Tacitus — how I should like to teach it again! My Tacitus is the best book I have written, I think." During the last month of his life, after his mind became clouded, it was noticeable that it remained clear in reference to matters pertaining to the college; and most pathetic was his appeal one day, when in his delirium, imagining himself away from home, he asked to be taken back to Waterville where he had labored so long and so well. He did not wish to survive

the loss of reason, and in this his desire was mercifully granted. On Tuesday night, March 14, 1882, he did not rest as well as usual. He said he was tired, and as the night wore away he asked if it was almost morning. About five o'clock Wednesday, March 15, the nurse noticed that his breathing was short and quick. His wife was at once summoned, but when she reached the bedside she found that he had ceased to breathe; so suddenly and so easily, after long months of suffering and weariness, he had entered into rest.

Beside Mrs. Champlin, three children survived him: James P. Champlin, Augustus Champlin and Frank A. Champlin, all of Portland. A daughter, Mrs. Caroline C. Burrage, died in Portland, November 24, 1875.

The funeral services occurred at the Free Street Church, on Saturday afternoon, March 18. Rev. Henry E. Robins, D.D., Dr. Champlin's successor in the presidency at Waterville, on account of ill health was unable to be present. "I have a deep appreciation of Dr. Champlin's services to the college," he wrote. "He rendered possible whatever success I have been able to achieve." Nearly all the alumni and trustees of the University residing in Portland and vicinity were present. Rev. T. D. Anderson, jr., pastor of the First Baptist Church, read selections from the Scriptures. Then followed addresses by Rev. James McWhinnie, pastor of the Free Street Church, Professor Moses Lyford, representing the faculty of Colby University and Gen. J. L. Chamberlin, president of Bowdoin College. The former spoke of Dr. Champlin in his private relations in his later years. Professor Lyford referred to his association with Dr. Champlin as a member of the faculty at Waterville. "Every remembrance of that sixteen years," he said, "is pleasant." President Chamberlain brought from the college which he represented a sincere and affectionate tribute "to the scholar, to the strong and strenuous man in the cause of education, to the maker of books, to the instructor of youth." He alluded to Dr. Champlin's remarkable industry and energy, and added: —

The work he did for the college abides in more ways than one. It has been said that the institution is a monument to him. Those who know its history know how true that is. But beyond books, and beyond college walls of brick and stone, and beyond even the words of instruction in the class-room, there is a mighty power which the true educator

wields, and it is that of influence. I think in a college, for example, it is more the influence of the man than the books he may have written, or the words of instruction he may have uttered, which works on the minds and character of his pupils. The strongest feature in education, it seems to me, is influence. Now our friend's true, strong, generous and noble character I am very sure must have impress those who met him from time to time, as it impressed me. I owe him a debt of that kind. The influence of his character, of the man he was, fell into my spirit, I know, like good seed. When I know how many there must be in the community and all over the world in whom lives today the effect of the influence of our friend's character, I say his work abides in a different sense from the monument of brick and stone which he has left behind. He lives in our hearts and his spirit abides with us.

At the close of the addresses, and after a hymn by the choir, Rev. Asa Dalton, of St. Stephen's Church, offered prayer, and the burial followed at Evergreen Cemetery.

On Tuesday, June 27, 1882, Rev. A. K. P. Small, D.D., then pastor of the First Baptist Church, Fall River, Massachusetts, delivered in the chapel at Waterville, an address before the alumni, commemorative of the services of ex-President Champlin. In this address he said: —

Coming up to our annual literary festival this year, we look in vain for the honored form of one who moved regularly through these walks during more than thirty years, becoming so identified with what is most substantial here as to seem an essential part of this classic retreat. We look in vain for him? That is hardly true. How much of himself, of his best life, of his far reaching wisdom — more than could be seen in a single human form — is here before you! These halls, consecrated to devotion, to sacred memories, and to erudition, this grateful shade, these scholastic environments, all, all bear, and will continue to bear, what permanent impress of himself!

The pen of a competent and appreciative writer has already secured for history suitable record of his deeds. The president of another college has beautifully uttered the enviable tribute of contemporary educators. Pastor, associates, friends, have spoken of what he was as pillar of the church, citizen, husband, father, friend. The sacred requiem has been chanted over the silent form which, nearly four months ago, the immortal spirit fled. His name, his honor, are secure beyond the necessity of any words that can now be uttered.

Yet you, sons and daughters of this institution, could not allow such violence to your own sense of gratitude and obligation as to pass through these anniversary days without claiming a few moments, not for empty pagentry, or formal eulogy, or the repetition of funeral rites, but for the privilege of offering a single, unobtrusive garland at this favorite shrine of his professional and executive honors.

And no better utterance in your behalf ca n now be attempted than im perfect translation into words of the permanent lesson which his life so permanently fostered upon this very place, viz.: that the noblest monument for one's self, is what he builds for those who follow him; putting himself into what is better than even the nearest perfect effigy of bronze or marble—into the educated lives of those who shall better perpetuate his memory.

. . . . . .

What evidences are here that President Champlin spent himself in building for others; yet spent himself in exacting the best way to perpetuate himself; bequeathing appointments of a literary home, in the perpetual influence of which he shall live in the successive generations of uplifted, cultured lives. We refer not to these granite edifices alone, but to his accompanying and more special intellectual work. Those who have never written nor edited a single volume that becomes a permanent educating power has no conception of the amount and varied elements of life that must be given to it. But with the wearing responsibilities of the government of a college, and the peculiar financial burdens of the chairman of the prudential committee, through a career most important building enterprise, all the while constantly filling the chair of instruction in the department of intellectual and moral philosophy; and at the same time, so regularly and accurately, carrying through the press standard classical and metaphysical works, like Greek grammars, editions of Æschines, Demosthenes, Butler; original text books upon intellectual philosophy, ethics and political economy,—such achievements of laborious scholarship, President Chamberlain was pleased to call a mystery. To those who knew how much of almost superhuman physical and mental life that requires, it is the mystery next to miracle.

. . . . . .

And now, garnered among the treasures most secure, for the archives of the University, and its tributary academies; for the honor of this town; for the church, and the interests of sound learning, is the untarnished character and the continual influence of President James Tift Champlin.

Like words of glowing eulogy were spoken in private as well as in public. They came as a conviction begotten in college days, and strengthened amid the struggles of later life in which Dr. Champlin's teachings and conduct proved suggestive and helpful. They may all be summed up in these words of Scripture, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant?"

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PEQUAKETS.

ITS CAUSES AND ITS RESULTS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 21, 1890.

BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

It has been persistently asserted, and will be often re-asserted, that the frequent wars waged by the Indians upon the Maine colonists, were caused by cruel treatment on the part of the latter, and by their constant encroachments upon the hunting-grounds of the Indians, which threatened their subsistence; and sentimentalists, who imagine that impartiality requires them to admit the most questionable evidence against their own race, have carefully sought for wrongs against a people, whose very misfortunes tend to blind the sympathetic inquirer to their faults.

Doubtless individual acts of injustice were perpetrated, and doubtless more or less jealousy was cherished by the Indians on account of invasions by an alien people, of territory partly occupied by them; but these were insufficient to cause the extensive and protracted wars, which were waged against the colonists during the close of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century.

It is a fact, that at this period encroachment upon their territory was too inconsiderable to cause the Indians great apprehension. Nearly all the continent outside of a portion of Massachusetts, north, east and west, was a vast wilderness, and though the English increased with considerable rapidity in a few localities, so vast was the territory — to the Indian mind illimitable — that this increase could have caused but little apprehension, though encroachment upon their land was one of their pretexts for war.

A more active cause of war, which had germinated in religious and race antagonisms, and which had been transplanted from the soil of the Old World, where it had long flourished, to the more stimulating soil of the New, may be more profitably studied.

There can be no doubt that the cruel wars which raged in Maine from an early period, especially during the two decades from 1688 to 1698 and from 1705 to 1713, and at various other times until 1759, and which inflicted terrible sufferings upon the colonists, were the result of French machinations.

Through the influence of the Jesuit missions, the eastern Indians had become close allies of the French, whose hostility to their English neighbors was ever active. At Pentagoet was the adventurous Castine, who exercised unlimited sway over his savage associates, and whose settlement so near them was regarded by the English as a constant menace to their peace.

After two years of warfare, a partial peace with the Indians was secured by the capture, in 1690, of Port Royal by Phipps,[1] but this was only of short duration, and with the advent of Villebon to the governorship of Acadia, hostilities recommenced; indeed, Villebon was instructed by the French government to make it his principal object to wage war without ceasing, against the English, and to apply himself to the congenial task of animating the Indians "*de chercher fairè du proffit sur les ennemis*,"[2] and to make them feel that war against the English was more profitable than hunting.

Villebon, apparently delighted with his instructions, supplied the savages, who were eager for blood, with suitable weapons, and dispatched them against the infant settlements of Maine. One hundred and fifty Penobscot Indians, converts of Thury, the Jesuit priest, set out on this expedition, and were joined by a body of Indians from the Kennebec. Traveling on snow-shoes, the expedition reached York, which, in the early dawn, they attacked and destroyed; Dummer, the venerable minister of York, was shot dead at his door, and his wife subjected to the hardships of a captivity which she did not survive. One of the savages it is said arrayed himself in the clerical garb of the dead minister, and delivered a mock sermon to his howling associates.

[1] Vide Collection De Documents, relatifs a l' Histoire de la Nouvelle France. Quebec, 1884. Vol. II. pp. 6-8.

[2] Ibid, p. 83.

On their return from this expedition, the Indians were received by the French authorities with feasting and merry-making, and incited by stirring harangues to continue their warfare. Pentagoet, the headquarters of Castine, was made the base of another attack upon the English settlements, and here in the early summer the French leaders with the principal Abnaki chiefs and their followers assembled. Encouraged by former success in ravaging the scattered hamlets of the English, which Frontenac admits was "impossible of description," they set forward with savage glee to attack Wells.

But Wells, fortunately, had in Converse a hero, and though he had but thirty men with him, he defeated the most formidable force which had yet been sent over the French border. Villebon, as cruel as his savage allies, to raise their despondent spirits and stimulate their thirst for blood, gave them one of his English prisoners to burn, and does not seem to have been shocked at the inhuman tortures inflicted upon him. Aroused by their danger, it was resolved by the English to rebuild the ruined fort at Pemaquid, and under Phipps a structure of stone of considerable strength was erected, which served to check the ardor of the savages, who were always easily disheartened, and whose bravery was most conspicuous, when safe in ambush and against an unprotected foe.

A partial peace resulted, which Villebon, aided by Thury, strove zealously to rupture. Some of their chiefs, to impress them with the splendor and power of France were sent to the French court, where they were flattered, feasted and gaily apparelled, and were returned with pomp to their people to relate the wonders which they had beheld. The efforts of Villebon and Thury succeded in renewing the war, and under the leadership of Villebon another expedition against the English was organized. The savages were to strike a blow at the heart of New England and were instructed to give the English no quarter. Reaching the outskirts of Oyster River, now Durham, New Hampshire, they made an attack upon it before daybreak, and slaughtered men, women and children, as they endeavored to escape half-naked from their beds.

After the massacre, the savages bearing their bloody trophies, were assembled by Thury to celebrate mass, after which the chief

Taxous set out on another raid "to knock people in the head by surprise," says Villebon, "which cannot fail to have a good effect;" indeed, says this writer, "even infants in the cradle were not spared."[1] In this cruelty, the Jesuit Thury, we must believe was *particeps criminis.* In a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, the French minister, Ponchartrain, extolled his services in inciting the savages to war upon the English, and he urges, as a reward for his zeal, the bestowal upon him of a portion of the money which the government contributed to the support of the Acadian clergy: "*une plus forte part sur les 1500 l. de gratiffication que sa Majesté accorde pour les ecclésiastiques de l'Acadie.*"[2]

But the English were not to be swept from the earth as their enemies desired. With a courage nerved by necessity, they met the murderous bands sent against them by their fanatical neighbors, and drove them back defeated and disheartened.

There was a lull in the storm of war, but soon after the arrival of the English colonial Governor, Dudley, the French again began to incite the Indians to attack the English settlements. To prevent another war with its concomitant horrors, Dudley succeeded in assembling at Casco on the 20th of June, 1703, the principal Abnaki chiefs for the purpose of concluding a treaty with them. The Indians, however, instigated by the French, prepared a plot to surprise the governor and his assistants. In order to avoid suspicion they thought best not to appear at the council in too large numbers, but it was arranged that the chief of the Pequakets should arrive at the proper time with a large force, and at a given signal aid in consummating the plot. This treacherous design was frustrated by the non arrival of the Pequakets at the expected time, and by an occurrence, but for which it might, however, have been successful. It was the custom for the Indians and the English to join in a salute at the conclusion of certain ceremonies, and during the progress of negotiations, several salutes had accordingly been fired. The conclusion of the treaty was to be celebrated by a *feu de joie*, and at the proper moment, the English, by arrangement fired first. When the Indians fired it was discovered that their guns were loaded with balls, and it afterward transpired, that they had intended to turn upon the English and slaughter them, but that

[1] Ibid. p. 158.

[2] Ibid. p. 179.

owing to some misunderstanding many of their principal chiefs were mingled with the English, and their lives would have been jeoparded had this part of the plot been carried out.

Dudley and his associates returned home in safety, but the Pequaket chief soon arrived with two hundred Indians and Frenchmen, and without regard to the treaty, which had just been concluded, they fell upon the scattered settlements and destroyed young and old without mercy.

Thus began a war which raged with terrible fury for ten years, and which depopulated a large portion of Maine and filled New England with mourning. In the early part of the war, through the energy of Governor Dudley, who began an aggressive warfare upon the Indians, the success of the English appeared marked, and in the flush of enthusiasm, the governor wrote home, on April 23, 1706, "I am in a very good posture with my French and Indian neighbors by continual marches in the mighty Deserts. I have not left an Indian Habitation, nor a Planting Field undestroyed, so that the Indians are fled over to the French, and I have no damage; but am at great Cost to keep the field and Frontiers, but the assembly are very easy at the Charge: and perfectly satisfied at the expence of their money."[1] He found ere long, however, that marches in the "mighty Deserts," and the destruction of Indian wigwams did not avail in bringing the war to a termination, and two years later he wrote in a different tone in which he said, speaking of the Indians: "Their Priests and Jesuits have gotten the command of all the Inland Indians and have Debauched the Indians of the Province of Mayn and by their late Trade and Discovery of the Messasseppi River have, in a manner made a Circle round all the English Colonys, from New England to Virginia, and do every year give the Governm'ts of New England very great Trouble."[2] This was dated November 10, 1708. It had been preceded on the 20th of October by a memorial to the Queen, from the people, who were in great distress on account of the prolongation of the war, in which they advised the employment of the Mohawk Indians, as the only practical method of reaching their prowling enemy, and inflicting upon him a telling blow. "It's nothing," says this memorial, "Short of Twenty Years That your Majesties good subjects of this Prov-

[1] Vide Dudley's Letters in the office of the Public Records, London. [2] Ibid.

ince have been wasting under the Calamities of a Destroying and Expensive War, taking the Commencement thereof from the Rebellion and Eruption of the Eastern Indians in the year 1688." Advising the employment of the Mohawk and Western Indians against the Eastern tribes, the memorial continues: "We humbly Conceive with Submission That the most probable way of doing Execution upon them and Reducing them, is by men of their own Colour, way and manner of Living."[1] This suggestion, however did not bear fruit, and the war continued to rage with horrors too forbidding to contemplate, until peace between France and England was consummated at Utrecht, in 1713, which was followed immediately by a peace between the English and Indians at Portsmouth, on July 11, of the same year.

Again the Maine colonists, who had survived the war, returned to rebuild the waste places, and ere long by thrift and industry with nature's kindly help, they replaced the scenes of desolation which war had left behind, with happy homes and fruitful fields.

The French, however, were active in inciting the Indians to hostility, and occasional outbreaks occurred; but in the summer of 1721 a considerable body of Indians accompanied by the Jesuit priests, De la Chasse and Raslé, with other Frenchmen, one of whom was Castine, appeared at Arrowsic with a communication directed to Governor Shute, to the effect that unless the English removed within three weeks their houses would be destroyed and they themselves killed. Hostilities soon began, causing the frontier settlers great suffering.

There is ample evidence that De la Chasse and Raslé followed the example of Thury and incited the Indians to war upon the English settlers. Vaudreuil and Begon wrote on the 26th of October, 1720, to the French minister, "*La Pere Râlle continue à exciter les Savages de la missions de Narantsouak à ne point sonffrir les Anglais de s'étendre sur leurs terres,*"[2] and the king communicated to the representatives of France at Quebec on the 8th of June, 1721, his satisfaction of Raslé's course. "*Sa Majeste est satisfaite des soins que le Pere Raslé, Jesuit, continue de se donner pour exciter les Savages de sa mission de Narantsouak,*

[1] Vide Dudley's letter in the office of the Public Records, London.

[2] Vide Collection De Documents, relatifs a l'Histoire de la Nouvelle France. Quebec, 1884, vol. 3, page 48.

et ne point souffrir que les Anglais s'établissent sur leurs terres." [1] Of the action of Raslé, Governoror Shute particularly complained to Vaudreuil and requested that he should be recalled, a request which was not granted.

Vaudreuil, however, by a duplicity almost unparalleled, maintained outwardly a friendly attitude toward the English, while secretly he was using all the means in his power to incite the savages to destroy them. Governor Shute was for a while deceived, but ere long the proofs of the French governor's deception came into his hands, and his rightous indignation found vent in a letter to him under date of March 14, 1721, which must have caused even the mendacious Vaudreuil to blush with shame.

Shute began by calling Vaudreuil's attention to an inclosed copy of a letter which he had some time before addressed to the latter, and which he had ascertained had not reached its destination, and he then proceeds to say: —

You can see how much I was certain of your equity in the case of the Norridgewock savages, and how much I am mortified to perceive that I was deceived. You have convinced me by letters under your own hand, and make it certain that I shall be wrong in expecting any service from you in this regard, since all the hostility and violence which the savages of Arrowsic have committed the past summer, were not only with your approbation, but it was you even, who have pushed them on to commit them from the beginning, and have approved them after they were done. It is necessary to say Sir, that I would never have believed this of a man of distinction, a Christian and a Governor of a French colony, who moreover is bound to live in peace and concord with the English governors. But what say I: I have your letters and your instructions: and I have the originals of them. You can see this by some articles which I here insert. I shall send the originals to the king, my master. You intimate that you have orders to do what you have done. His Majesty shall very soon discover the truth of this coloring and how much your conduct in this affair has been contrary to the spirit of the treaty of Utrecht, and above all against the 12th and 18th articles. Is it thus that we follow the example of our masters, who live in such strict harmony and friendship.

I have no doubt that Father Ralle, who has been the principal mover in this business, has advised you of this little escapade. It will be well if it serves to make him return to his own country or Canada without more abuse of his character and profession.[2]

[1] Vide Collection De Documents, relatifs Histoire de la Nouvelle France. Quebec, 1884, vol. 3, p. 54.

[2] For the French of this letter note, ibid. p. 70; the translation here is the author's. A copy of this letter taken from the office of the Public Records is here appended.

But this was of no avail. The French governor, and all who owed allegiance to the French government were but acting in accordance with the wishes of the French king, who was outwardly living "in strict harmony and friendship," with his English brother. Thus the war went on against the English settlements in Maine, and the barbarities perpetrated by the savages soon aroused the English to a sense of their danger. Governor Shute issued his proclamation against them on the 25th of July, 1722, declaring them and their confederates to be "robbers, traitors and enemies"[1] to the king, but offering clemency to all who might report within forty days to the officers who commanded in the neighborhood, that they might be recognized as friendly to the English; and that friendly Indians might not suffer, they were ordered to remain at home within the English lines, and not to harbor those who were enemies of the English. All the Indians, however, who could be reached by French influence, took the war-path against the English, and the old scenes of horror were re-enacted among the scattered hamlets of New England, with all the inhuman cruelty which had characterized them in former wars.

Apologists have extolled the Indians for sparing many who fell into their hands; overlooking the fact that a market for such captives existed in Canada, and that they were thus encouraged by the French to spare them. These captives were valuable as servants and were often purchased of the Indians by persons, who, it is but fair to say, were actuated by the purest spirit of philanthropy. Thus many lives were preserved which would otherwise have been ruthlessly destroyed. Yet, on the part of the Indians, it was a war of extermination, and this was realized by the settlers. Unless they could successfully reach and strike their elusive foe they would be finally rooted out. This would be an almost certain result if the French succeeded in inciting the western Indians against them, and Governor Shute employed diplomacy to prevent such a union. Though he did not receive active assistance from the western tribes, he succeeded in keeping them neutral, and in obtaining their influence to dissuade the eastern Indians from pursuing the war. He thus wrote home on October 29, 1722:—

[1] This Proclamation may be seen in the office of the Public Records.

Some Delegates from the Five Nations are gone to speak with our Eastern Indians to demand of them the reason why they have maltreated their Brethren the English. What Affect this Interview will produce I cannot say as yet, but so soon as it is over, I shall acquaint your Lord'ps with it by the first Opportunity.[1]

This however proved of no avail, and it was resolved to adopt the sharpest measures to bring the war to a speedy end. The government was in no condition to carry on an extensive war. The people were poor, most of them being barely able in time of peace to support by unremitting toil those dependent upon them. Even if it were possible to equip and maintain a large army in the field, it would be almost useless against the predatory bands of savages whose appearance in a place was usually unexpected; hence, the formation of scouting parties was encouraged, their pay to be determined, not wholly by the length of time employed by them in the field, but also by the number of Indians slain by them; in other words by the number of scalps which they could show in proof of their success. This method of paying for military service has been severely condemned and declared to be unjustifiable, yet cruel as it was, it undoubtedly hastened the close of the war, and saved much bloodshed.

Among the men versed in Indian warfare, who gathered on the frontier to make offensive war upon the Indians, were Captains Harmon and Moulton, both noted Indian fighters, who resolved to march to Norridgewock and strike a blow where they believed it would be most telling. Accordingly, with two hundred and eleven men in seventeen whale boats they set out, on August 19, 1724, on their expedition from Fort Richmond, opposite Swan Island, and on the following day landed at the present site of Winslow, and leaving a party to guard the boats, proceeded on the twenty-first toward Norridgewock. On their march they encountered the chief, Bomaseen, with his wife and daughter, who attempting to escape were fired upon, the chief and his daughter killed and the wife taken prisoner.

On the afternoon of the twenty-second, Harmon came in sight of Norridgewock, and disposing his men in Indian fashion, a part of them in ambush, made an attack upon the village. Taken by surprise, the Indians, of whom there were about

[1] The original is in the office of the Public Records.

fifty fighting men at home, the rest being on the war-path against the English, made but a poor defense. Many took to the river hoping to escape to the other shore, but were shot down by Harmon's men. It is stated that about eighty Indians, many being women and children, were killed. Among the slain was Raslé, concerning whose death the particulars are meager and unsatisfactory. This successful attack upon Norridgewock encouraged the English to undertake similar expeditions. Among those whose hearts were fired to emulate the example of Harmon and Moulton was John Lovewell, of Dunstable, who with several of his neighbors, equally brave with himself, joined in the following memorial to the General Court[1]: —

The humble Memorial of John Lovel, Josiah Farwell, Jonathan Robins all of Dunstable, Showeth that your petitioners with forty or fifty others are inclinable to range and keep out in the woods, for several months together in order to kill and destroy their Indian Enemy, provided they can meet with Incouragement suitable. And your petitioners are employed and desired by many others that each soldier may be allowed five shillings per day in case they kill any enemy Indians and produce their scalps, they will employ themselves in Indian hunting one whole year, and if your honors shall then see fit to encourage them, or take up with their proposals, they will readily proceed in ye said service in case they have proper officers appointed to lead them, and if they bring in any scalp they are willing and desirous to submit to what the Government shall see cause to give them (over and above their wages) as a reward for their service.

Signed, John Lovewell
Nov. 1724. Josiah Farwell
Jonathan Robbins.

On the seventeenth of the same month the General Court took action upon this memorial in the following manner, and voted :— [2]

That his Honor the Lt. Governor be desired to commission proper and suitable officers for this service (the number of men not to exceed fifty) and that they keep exact Journals or accounts of the time they are out in the woods and where they go, as well as the time they may be at home or in any towns fitting to go out again. And that they be allowed two shillings and six pence per diem each, for the time they are actually out in the service and the time of fitting out as aforesaid, they subsisting themselves, Provided that the time of their being out in this service shall be until the session of this Court in May next—And for their fur-

[1] Vide "The Expeditions of Capt. John Lovewell." By Frederick Kidder, Boston, 1865, p. 12.

[2] Ibid.

ther encouragement they shall be entitled over and above the two shillings and six pence per diem, the sum of one hundred pounds for each male scalp and the other premiums established by law to Volunteers without pay or subsistance, And that the commission officers have the loan of a sufficient number of arms for the use of the Maquas and other Indians, who may be willing to enter and engage with them in service, the officers to be accountable for the arms they receive.

Lovewell at once began to raise a company of men; but owing to the fact that several expeditions against the Indians had been unsuccessful, and after severe hardships had returned home disheartened, he was able to gather but thirty men, and with these he set out from Dunstable a few days after the favorable action of the General Court upon his memorial.

The country of the Pequakets was to be Lovewell's objective point. The principal seat of this tribe was upon the shores of the Saco, near the present village of Fryeburg. The Pequakets had in former wars been active against the English, and were considered especially dangerous to the settlements exposed to their attacks. Their premeditated treachery at the time the Casco treaty was made, and their subsequent cruelties had not been forgotten; hence it was believed that nothing short of the most severe punishment would prevent them from inflicting irreparable injury upon the frontier settlements before the coming spring. Into the domain of this war-like people, Lovewell and his little band marched.

A more dangerous service could not be undertaken. Exposed to all the hardships of a winter campaign in the wilderness, they would upon entering the Indian country be at all times liable to surprise by a foe who knew not what mercy was to an enemy; hence it was a service which demanded the most exalted courage. It was nearly a month before they met with any success; but on the nineteenth of December, nearly fifty miles north of Lake Winnipiseogee, they surprised two Indians in a camp, one of whom they killed, and the other, a youth of fifteen years of age, they captured. Lovewell now determined to return to Dunstable, doubtless foreseeing that his success would enable him to secure recruits.

Upon reaching home Lovewell was welcomed with rejoicing, and taking advantage of the prevailing enthusiasm he succeeded in enlisting eighty-seven men, and on the twenty-ninth of January

set out from Dunstable on another expedition. On the seventh of February he had reached Winnipiseogee where he camped, doubtless foreseeing a storm which came and prevented him from continuing his march until the ninth. Here one of his men while using his ax cut himself so severely that Lovewell was obliged to send him home with an escort of six men. He now proceeded cautiously, frequently sending out scouts to reconnoiter. On the thirteenth, finding that his store of provisions would not be sufficient to sustain his entire company, Lovewell sent home thirty men, which reduced the number of his command to fifty. On the fourteenth a moose was killed which was a grateful addition to their meager fare. Lovewell had now penetrated so far into the Indian country, that he thought it necessary to pursue his course with extreme caution, keeping at all times on the alert to avoid surprise.

Discovering the tracks of Indians on the sixteenth, Lovewell left sixteen of his men to guard the supplies and baggage and cautiously pursued their trail until eight o'clock of the seventeenth, when being out of provisions, he returned to the place where he had left his supplies, and having refreshed his men with food, without stopping to rest over night, he set out with the entire party and pursued the trail, which he had previously followed, the rest of the day and ensuing night, making, however, a progress of but six miles. But the Indians were not so near as Lovewell supposed, and during the next two days he made a severe march of forty-two miles, and encamped at a pond in the present town of Wakefield, New Hampshire.

The next day he came upon a camp, which the Indians had but a few hours before deserted, and pursuing the trail a short distance the smoke of their encampment was discovered. Arranging for a surprise, Lovewell waited until about two o'clock in the morning, when he made an attack upon the sleeping foe, who proved to be a party of ten men fully equipped for war, on their way it was supposed to attack the English settlements. So complete was the surprise of the Indians that not one escaped alive. Lovewell upon securing this victory immediately took up his homeward march, but in Indian fashion, after proceeding a few miles went into ambush and posted scouts on the track over which he had passed, anticipating pursuit. On March ninth, seven-

teen days after his successful attack upon the Indian camp, Lovewell marched at the head of his hardy band through the streets of Boston, bearing the trophies of his success and cheered by the plaudits of an admiring crowd. It would seem that in these two campaigns Lovewell had directed his efforts against straggling bands of the enemy, whom he hoped to surprise; but encouraged by his success, he now conceived the bold idea of attacking the Pequakets in their stronghold. This plan had been adopted successfully against the Norridgewocks, and accorded with the English policy first formulated by Sir John Hawkins in the Spanish wars, and popularized by Raleigh and other bold spirits, not to wait a blow from an enemy, but to strike first and in his own home, a policy possessing in this case difficulties of accomplishment almost insurmountable. Lovewell, however, was not a man to be discouraged by any perils which might lie in his path, and to carry out his plan, he proceeded to raise recruits, and on the fifteenth of April had enrolled forty-six picked men.

The following terse and soldierly letter he addressed to the governor before setting out on his perilous expedition: —[1]

DUNSTABLE, April ye 15, 1725.

Sir This is to inform you that I march from Dustable with between forty or fifty men on the day above mentioned & I should have marched sooner if the weather had not prevented me. Nomore at present but I remain your humble servt.

JOHN LOVEWELL.

In Lovewell's command was an Indian supposed to be of the Mohawk tribe, who shortly after leaving Dunstable became lame and was obliged to return; and when the expedition reached Contoocook, one of the Dustable men, owing to illness, was sent back with a kinsman to take care of him. Arriving at Ossipee, about forty miles from the Indian settlement at Pequaket, which was his objective point, Lovewell selected an elevated position on the west shore of Ossipee Lake and began the erection of a fortification as the base of operations, upon which he could fall back if future events rendered such a course necessary.

The construction of this fortification as well as the admirable selection of its position, for it was built sufficiently strong to sustain a siege, being surrounded by a stockade and ditch, with ex-

[1] Vide "The Expedition of Capt. John Lovewell." Boston, 1865, p. 20.

cavations of considerable size and depth, and with a water supply which could not be cut off, renders it evident that Lovewell in this campaign had a well defined plan of operations against the Indians which comprised more than he had yet attempted against them. Having completed his fortification, he left in it a portion of his supplies with a small garrison consisting of seven men, as well as his surgeon to take care of one of his men who had fallen sick, and with his command reduced to thirty-four men, pushed on through the wilderness to Pequaket

On the sixth of May, three weeks after leaving Dunstable, Lovewell was in the vicinity of the pond which bears his name, and constantly apprehensive of discovery by the enemy; but nothing particular transpired until early on the morning of the eighth, when, he and his men being at prayers, they were alarmed by the report of a gun, and shortly after discovered an Indian on a point projecting into the pond. Supposing that their presence had become known to the enemy, and that the Indian had fired his gun to attract their attention to himself and to draw them into ambush if they pursued him, a hasty council was held, and the question proposed, whether it would be better under the circumstances to hazard an engagement with the enemy or beat a hasty retreat.

With a courage which might have been expected from men who had taken their lives in their hands under the pressure of a great emergency, to combat an enemy dangerous to the existence of their country, Lovewell's brave partisans made answer, "That having come out to meet the enemy, and continually prayed to God that they might do so, they would rather trust to Providence with their lives—aye, would indeed rather die for their country than retreat and earn the title of cowards." Such was the heroic answer which Lovewell received to the question which he placed before his men, and though it was evidently consonant with his own desires, as he promptly engaged to lead them, like a prudent and conscientious captain, who felt responsible for the lives of those under his command, and wished them not to underrate the perils which they were to encounter, and so fail to put forth their best energies, he let them understand that he was not over confident of success. This must have made every man feel a personal responsibility, and realize the importance of exercising all his efforts to achieve victory.

At the outset, an error quite natural, yet almost fatal, was made in locating the enemy, who, instead of being on Lovewell's front was on his rear. Not knowing this, Lovewell ordered his men to divest themselves of their packs and advance with caution. The Indians stealthily followed the advancing Englishmen, and coming upon their packs were enabled to calculate their exact force. Lovewell had advanced but a mile and a half when his ensign, Wyman, discovered an Indian, probably the one, who had been first discovered, advancing toward them, and making a sign to those behind, they all crouched low and silently awaited his approach. As he drew near, several guns were fired at him which he returned, mortally wounding with beaver shot the brave Lovewell, who, however, made no complaint, but continued to go forward. The Indian also managed to wound Samuel Whiting, when Lieutenant Wyman fired and killed him. Not finding the Indians in their front, the English concluded to return to the spot where they had left their packs; but as they approached the place, the Indians, who had concealed themselves in ambush near by, rightly calculating that they would return, suddenly arose upon their front and rear.

Both parties rushed upon each other; the Indians confident in the superiority of their numbers, and the English as confident in the superior skill of the European over the undisciplined savage. It was about ten o'clock in the morning when the initial volley was fired by both parties almost simultaneously. The first fire of the Indians, however, was wild and inflicted no serious damage upon the English; but as the fight progressed the English found themselves suffering considerable loss, and in danger of being surrounded; hence they deemed it prudent to retreat to the pond so as to bring it upon their rear, and baffle the intention of their foes to subject them to a double fire. This movement was safely accomplished, but there was left on the field of battle their brave captain and eight of their number who had fallen before the enemy's fire.

Reaching the pond in good order, the English now reduced to twenty-five in number, prepared to meet the Indians, who came upon them like wild beasts eager for blood, "Roaring and Yelling and Howling like Wolves, Barking like Dogs and making

all sorts of Hideous Noises,"[1] to which the English responded with well directed shots, followed by those hearty cheers, which have contributed so much to English success on many well-fought battle-fields.

All day the fight continued, the Indians suffering serious loss. At one time they appeared to have resorted, as was their custom, to certain magical ceremonies, which they supposed efficacious on such occasions, which being discovered, Wyman upon whom the command had now devolved, crept cautiously toward them, and with a skillful shot brought down the officiating powow, as he was denominated, and brought the ceremonies to a conclusion.

Confident however of success, but hoping to escape further loss, the Indians proposed that the English should surrender, and held up ropes which they had ready for binding them. Every man, however, in that little band had resolved to die rather than surrender to such a foe, and to the inquiry of the savages if they would accept quarter, the reply of the English was that they would accept nothing but at the muzzles of their guns.

Among those severely wounded after the retreat to the pond was the chaplain of the party, Jonathan Frye, a young man of much promise, who had fought with the rest during the day. When he could no longer fight, the heroic young man prayed for the success of his friends. Shortly after sunset the Indians, who had been too severely punished to prolong the fight, withdrew, but the English did not relax their vigilance, anticipating a renewal of hostilities, till about midnight, when they got together to take account of their condition, which was indeed desperate.

On the shore of the pond they found one of their number, Farrah, just expiring, and two others, Robbins and Usher, so severely wounded as to be unable to walk. Robbins desired them to load his gun and leave it with him, for he said "the Indians will come in the morning to scalp me, and I'll kill one more of 'em if I can."[2] Eleven more of the number were wounded but able to walk, and leaving Robbins and Usher to their terrible fate, the survivors of the Pequaket fight took up their weary march for their fort, forty miles distant, worn out with fatigue and faint with hunger, having eaten nothing during the day, and without provisions to sustain them on their long march through the wil-

[1] Vide ("The Expedition of Capt. John Lovewell," Boston, 1865, p. 33. [2] Ibid, p. 34.

derness. By the time they had advanced a mile and a half, four of the wounded men, Farwell, Frye, Davis and Jones, were unable to proceed farther, and with their consent, their companions left them to their fate. Through that terrible night the exhausted men picked their way through the wilderness in momentary anticipation of ambuscade and death, and when morning dawned they separated into three parties, fearing that they might be tracked by their vigilant enemy.

They were several days in reaching the fort, which they found, to their great disappointment, abandoned, owing to false information carried to the garrison by a deserter at the beginning of the battle, to the effect that the Indians had achieved a victory. The men in the garrison feeling that they were not strong enough to resist a force sufficiently large to overcome the force which had gone against them under the skillful leadership of Lovewell, resolved to abandon a post, which it was no longer necessary for them to hold, and to seek their way home. The four poor fellows who had been left behind, after waiting in vain for the return of their companions, attempted to reach the fort in spite of weakness and wounds, and dragged themselves on for several miles. Frye, the wounded chaplain, was the first to give out and laid down to die, sending an affecting message to his father. Farwell succeeded in getting within a few miles of the fort when he too succumbed. Neither of the three was again heard from. Davis succeeded in reaching the fort, where he found provisions which renewed his strength, and finally reached Dunstable; while Jones by following the banks of the river, after severe hardships, succeeded in gaining Saco. Of the thirty-four men who set out from the fort at Ossipee to attack the Pequakets, but nineteen returned alive, fifteen having fallen in battle or perished by the way. The survivors were received upon their return with affectionate demonstrations of joy. Never were patriot heroes returning from victory more honored than were these brave men, and never was a hero more fervently eulogized than the dead Lovewell.

"How are the mighty fallen and the weapons of war perished"[1] was the text of his funeral sermon preached by the eloquent Symmes. Nor need we be surprised at this. The occasion

[1] Ibid, Symmes Discourse, p. 41.

which called Lovewell and his men to leave their homes to enter upon so desperate an enterprise as the expedition against Pequaket, was one of vital importance to the people of New England. Their welfare, if not their existence, depended upon the destruction of the Indian power. Paugus, the Pequaket chief, had long been the terror of the frontier, and these patriotic and heroic men had overthrown him. The exploit was indeed a theme worthy not only of the people's gratitude, but of the best powers of the orator and poet. The patriotism of Lovewell and his men has been criticised by sentimentalists on account of the eagerness displayed by them in securing the scalps of their foes; but to suppose that these men were actuated by no higher motive than to derive gain from a traffic in scalp-locks, is to ignore abundant proofs to the contrary. They were not responsible for the methods devised by the government to secure proof of effective service rendered it; but even if they were, we should consider the character of the enemy with whom they had to deal. European methods of warfare could not avail against savages who prowled about the settlements in the darkness of night, surprising and killing people in their beds. They could only be successfully reached by men adopting their own secret methods of attack, and to prevent them from destroying the growing settlements it was necessary to inflict upon them the sharpest punishment. No more lofty patriotism has been displayed by Englishmen than that exhibited by Lovewell and his hardy comrades. In a season of supreme peril to their country, amid the fervent prayers of the best people of the land, with an unalterable resolution to conquer or perish in the attempt, they went forth to meet hardships and perils calculated to appal the stoutest hearts. Their reply when they found themselves in the vicinity of their pitiless enemies, without knowledge of the numbers they were to encounter, and knowing that defeat meant death, perhaps by the cruelest torture, should render their names immortal.

They had prayed to meet the enemy and would trust in Providence, and, if necessary, die for their country, but would not turn back. What nobler spirit have heroes ever exhibited? Nor should we ignore the sentiments of the people for whose welfare they suffered. They realized better than we can realize the exigences of the occasion which prompted these men to go forth

against their savage foes, and the sacrifices which they made, and we should give due weight to their opinions. They extolled them as heroes, and the pulpits of New England, occupied by some of the purest men whom any age can produce, indorsed the public testimony.

The importance of a battle can neither be properly estimated by the numbers engaged in it, nor by the numbers left on the field. It can be correctly measured only by its results. Adopting this standard, in doing which we are supported by no less an authority than Sir Edward Creasy, who has given the chief place in military history only to those battles which are acknowledged to have been decisive, and which he finds to be but fifteen in number; the battle at Pequaket at once assumes important proportions. It was decisive.

In this battle the Pequakets lost their great chief and many of their best warriors, and they realized for the first time that the English arm was long enough to reach them. An enemy who could send out men versed in their own methods of warfare, who could erect with impunity fortified camps in their country and attack and destroy their homes, filled them with dread and made them anxious for peace. So great was the terror inspired by Lovewell's attack upon them, that the savages abandoned their seat at Pequaket and took up their abode in Canada. In a short time overtures for peace were made. A treaty was agreed upon, and New England again enjoyed a season of prosperity, although the French still endeavored to foment trouble between them and the savages, over whom they exercised a malign influence, but with poor success, as the lesson taught them at Norridgewock and Pequaket convinced them that the English were dangerous enemies when aroused.

To Lovewell, then, we may accord the honor of having ended a war, which might have been prolonged for years and caused much bloodshed and suffering, by his brave fight at Pequaket.[1]

[1] Vide Documents from English Archives, appended to further illustrate this article.

THE DEPOSITION OF JOHN MINOT LATE OF GEORGE TOWNE IN AROWSICK BUT NOW BOSTON MERCHT.

That he being the last Spring sent by the Governmt. to Narantswalk on a Message to the Indians there, did then heare Sebastian Rale the Popish Priest or Jessuit who resides with those Indians say—

That the King of France had given the Governr. of Canada orders to Assist the Indians against the English, if they proceeded to settle the Eastern parts of the County of York, And that the Governr. of Canada had promist to Assist the Indians Against the English—

And when the Regents health was Offerd to him the said Jessuit he refused to pledge it, saying the Regent was a Protestant, speaking refleckting words of him—

And the Indians of Narantswalk at the same time told him the said Minot, that the said Jessuit was Continually inciting the Indians Against the English, And that it was their best way, to beat and fight the English And to disturb them in their Settlements—

And that the said Jessuit had wrote to the English Governr. in their names, Otherwayes than they intended, And things they did not Consent to—

And at other times, the said Indians being Instruckted by the said Jessuit had said to him the said Minot, that King George was not the right King that he came in at the back doar, and that there was Another who was the right heir to the Crown—

The Above Mentioned or words to the same purpose have bin spoken in my hearing

JOHN MINOT.

SUFFOLK SS;———BOSTON 27th. November 1719.

John Minot personally Appeared before us the subscribers two of his Majesties Justices of the peace in sd. County and made Oath to the truth of the above writen testimony.

SAMUEL LYND } Justice peace
HABIAJH SAVAGE } Quoram unus.

taken in perpetuam
'Rei Memoriam.

MASSACHUSETS-BAY.

Depositions of Lewis Bane, Esq. & John Minot, Mercht., taken at Boston, in Novr. & Decr. 1719, in relation to a French Fryar, Sebastian Rayleés, stirring up the Kennebeck Indians to revolt from His Majesty, & disturb the Neighbouring English Settlements.

Recd. with Mr. Dumer's Memorial.

BEGON'S LETTER TO FATHER RALLÉ.

I have received my Reverend Father, the Letter which you did me the honour to write me the 18th. last month; Monsieur De Vaudreuil being at Montreal at the arrival of the Indians you sent here, I engaged four of

them to go to him and carry the Letter you wrote him, which was accompanied with one I wrote him to Communicate to him the sentiments of Father de la Chase and my own, upon what we think Convenient to be done till the Council of the Navy Explain themselves, if it be the King's Intention, That the French Joyn the Indians to support them Openly against the English or if we shall Content Our selves to furnish them with Amunition of War as the Council has Advised Monsr. De Vaudrieul, might do in Case the English makes any Enterprise against them; I send you the Copy of my Letter to the End you may furnish me with your thoughts, which appears to you to be best.

Monsr. De Vandreiule is Come down here with the Indians & past thrô St. Francis & Besancour to Invite the Indians of those Missions to send Deputies from their Villages to advise whats to be done He had a Design to Write to the English Governour, but since his return has changed his sentiment, and Contents himself to follow the principal Articles of the Memorial you sent him, which are to keep themselves on their Lands, and in the Religion they have Embraced and to have no longer different sentiments amongst them, but to unite to speak to the English with Resolution he thought it likewise more Convenient that the Revd. Father de la Chase should accompany the Indians of St. Francois de Besancourt than Monrs. de Croisil Lieutenant whom he brought with him with a design to send him With those Indians because that the Journey of the R. F. de la Chase is of no Consequence in respect to the English, seeing the Treaty of Peace do's not forbid one Missionary to Visit another in his Mission; Whereas if a French Officer were sent, they might Complain we sent Frenchmen into the Countrey they pretend to belong to them, to Excite the Indians to make War on them, on which we are of Opinion its Convenient to wait the Orders of the Court for them, to the End not to Exceed.

Seeing you Cant abandon your Mission to come your self to Communicate your thoughts on this subject & that it's Difficult to Explain them Amply enough by a Letter, and Consquently to Instruct us in what you may know of the Rules we must limit our selves by: We thought the Journey of the Reverend Father de la Chase very Convenient at this present Conjuncture, That he may thoroughly acquaint you with Methods that we think we are obliged to use towards the English, that we mayn't Exceed, and that he may Comunicate to us at his return All the reflections you make on the Dispositions of your Indians & those of the two other Missions.

Monsr. De Vaudrieule has read to your Indians and to them that accompanied them the Memorial he sends you Containing his speech, that they may no longer say that it is that of their Missionary, we believe you'l find it in the sense you proposed it.

I Caused to be given a Blanket a shirt a pair Mittons Tobacco powder & shot, to Each of the five Indians you sent, and I believe they return Contented & with good Intentions: As you are always too reserved in what Regards your self, I have desired the Reverend Father de la Chase

to know of you in Amity what I can send you that will be most Agreeable; I pray youl'd make use of it without Compliment; nothing is better Approved of than what you said to the Indians upon the News of the English Governour, Your Great Enemy being burn'd out, I wish he that fills up his place proves more reasonable, and that he lets you and your Indians live in quiet; This is to be wished for till we are well Instructed, if it be the Kings Intention That Openly we Joyn with the Indians against them, if they attack them wrongfully, Because in the Interim we Cant assist, but by Amunition, which we shall Give them and they may Depend that we wont let them want.

In respect to Taxous I found that you had great Reason to use him as you did, & you Could not be less steady than you were, it being necessary to have no regard for those that appear more attacht to the English than to us.

I am with all my heart & with all possible Attachment my Reverend Father,

Your Humble & Obedient
Sevt
signed Begon.

QUEBEC the 14th June,
1721.

Since my Letters being wrote the Indians of St. Francis & of Besencourt having Desired of Monsr. Vaudreuil That Monsr. de Croissit go with them to be Witness of their good Disposition, he Consented & is Joyned with the Reverend Father De la Chase.

B. T. New Engld, Bun. T. vol. 17,
Office Pub. Records, London.

GOVR. SHUTE TO THE CANADIAN GOVERNOR.

LETTER TO THE GOVERNOUR OF CANADA FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOUR SHUTE.

SIR

Being Informed That Your Excellency has Orders sent you Immediately to release the English Captives that are in your hands, I do my self the Honour to write to you on this affair; I need not Observe to you, how Agreeable it is to the Law of Nations and the Strict Allyance between the two Crowns (which God long Continue) That the Remnant of the Captivity of this Governmt. should at length be returned; And I perswade myself you will be glad of this Occasion of shewing Your Justice and Humanity in this matter; I would acquaint you, That this Government has lately been Insulted by our Eastern Indians without any Provocation and Contrary to their own repeated and Solemn stipulations and Treaties, a number of two hundred of them Entring in a Hostile manner into an English Town under French Colours, & Treating the English Inhabitants after a very Insolent manner. This is such a Breach upon His Majesties Government to which these Indians have subjected themselves, as we shall by no means Endure, & are Determined to have

Satisfaction for: I the rather Acquaint Your Excellency with this Affair because the Indians were Headed by two French Officers, one of them said to be from Canàda (his name I have lost) and two Jesuits; This last Circumstance I look upon as an Infraction of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the two Crowns Concluded at Utrecht, unto which I assure my self, you will most Strictly Conform; and therefore I doe very Earnestly Desire you would Enquire after this Officer and proceed with him according to his Deserts; and also that you will do your part to recall Monsr. Rallé & the other Jesuit from residing in any part of the Territory belonging to the Crown of Great Britain so Contrary to the Treaty aforesaid, His Majesties Laws at Home, and the Laws of this Province.

And in Case any of our Eastern Indians should make their application to Your Excellency you will use your Influence and Advise them to behave Loyally and peaceably towards His Majesties Government wherein they be, That so the English People on the Frontiers may live in Peace and not be troubled and abused by the Savages; and in Case the present rupture with the Eastern Indians should come to a Warr, I shall then Notify Your Excellency of it, & Expect Your Friendship and Assistance therein.

Am. & W. I., vol. 5,
Office Pub. Records, London.

I am
Your Excellencies
Humble servant
SAMLL SHUTE.

BOSTON July 21.
1721.

TO THE RT. HONBLE THE LORDS OF TRADE & PLANTATIONS.

GOVERNOUR VAUDREUIL TO FATHER RALLÉ.

QUEBEC LE 25th. September 1721.

I received my Reverend Father your Letters of the 4th August 10th. and 14th. this month. I have a great deal of Satisfaction in your having found means in Concert with the Reverend Father Superior to reunite all the Indians in the same Sentiments, & to Inspire them with that Resolution, with which they Treated the English in their Interview with them; I'm also very well Satisfied with the Message they sent the Governour of Boston I'm perswaded it will Embarass him, and that he will Elude as much as he can an Answer; But it's for your Indians to see what they have to do, if after the Remonstrance they Gave him he do not Satisfy their Demands.

I'm of the sentiment, if they have taken for me, a sincere Resolution not to suffer the English on their Land, that they ought not to suspend Chasing them out, as soon as possible, and by all sorts of means, seeing they don't prepare to retire on their own accord—Your people ought not to fear the want of Ammunition, since I send them a sufficiency, as you may see pr the Memorandum Inclosed, and that Ill continue with other succours they shall want, having Orders not to lett them want, and even

to sustain them if the English Attack them wrongfully—I am charmed that Owrené has thus distinguished himself in this Treaty, and that he has laboured as he has done, that the speech of the Nation was such to the English, he'll receive for his son Marks of the Satisfaction I have for him, or his services, for I have sent all you Desired for Him.

It is not the Malaowins that are a setling the Isle of St. Johns, that Island, and that of Majerlaine and others that are in the Gulph St. Lawrence having been Given by the King to Mr. Le Compte de st Pierre who causes it to be Inhabited for the Cod fishery, Seales & Sea Cows so that your Abenakis cant Expect any thing from that place.

I will consult with the Reverend Father Superior after what manner I shall receive those of your Village that were attached to the English, They are on the way, and may be here about All Saints; But you may depend I will make the Degraded[1] sensible how much I am Discontent with their Conduct. I am perfectly my Reverend Father your most Humble and Obedient servant

signed

VAUDRIEUL.

You may promise a great Medal of the King reigning to him that shall be chosen for Chief in the place of him degraded.

COLONEL SHUTE TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.

My Lords,

The last Letter I had the honour to receive from your Lordship bears date the 23d of August last; And I could not Slip the first opportunity to return the Rt. Honble Board my grateful acknowledgements for the kind Representation Your Lordsps promise to make to His Majesty in relation to my Administration.

I hope my last Letter to Your Lordsps which bore date Septembr. 8th last is Arrived.

The affairs of this Province remain in the same posture as when I last wrote to your Lordsps, In which Letter I acquainted You of the Rebellious behaviour of the Indians; and find it was chiefly occasioned by Monsr. Vaudreuil, who is the Governour of Canada. Permitting (or I rather Fear Encouraging) Father le Chaise who is a Jesuit residing with him, And also Monsr. Croizeen a ffrench officer, to come down into His Majestys Government, and there joyn with Another ffrench Jesuit, whose name is Railleé, who constantly resides among the Indians, that are in His Majestys Terretories, who all combined together as Incendiarys to perswade the Indians to Commit this Insult. These Proceedings keep our Eastern Settlements constantly Alarmed and obliges me to keep Troops upon the ffrontiers to the great Expence of this Province which puts them under many Difficulties. I Earnestly beg of your Lordsps to take this Matter into Your wise Consideration and more Es-

[1] The "Degraded" were the Indians who wished to observe treaty stipulations and live on friendly terms with the English.

pecially since these Proceedings of the French are directly Contrary to the Treaties that have been made between the Crown of Great Britain & France.

I am with great regard
My Lords
Your Lordships
Most humble Servant
Samuel Shute.

B. T.
New Engld
Bun. x. vol. 16.
Office Pub. Records, London.

Boston December 13th 1721.
To the Rt. Honble the Lords of Trade, &c.

COLO SHUTE TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.

BOSTON NEW ENGLAND, March 13th 1721.

My Lords,

In my Letter of the 13th of December last to the Rt. Honble Board I took the liberty to hint to your Lordships that I had good reason to Suspect that Monsr. Vaudreuil the Governor of Canada did Underhand stir up my Neighbouring Indians to Maletreat His Majestys liege Subjects.

The Inclosed Letters will give plain Demonstration that my Suspicions were well Grounded. I have only sent your Lordships well attested Copys, not daring to send the originals and run the risque of the Sea without direct Orders from home so to do.

I shall take the liberty to remarke to Your Lordships, that these Letters were found in Monsr. Ralés House a ffrench Jesuit who constantly resides among my Neighbouring Indians & is Useing his Utmost Indeavours to Engage them in a War against the English.

Your Lordsps will Observe that the ffrench Government (in the Inclosed Letters) advise the Indians to drive the English off from their Lands; from which I must remarke to Your Lordships that those Lands which the ffrench Government call the Indians Land, are Lands which the English have long Since purchased of the Indians, And have good Deeds to produce for the Same, & have also Erected some fforts thereupon; And that the said Lands have been at Several Genll Meetings of the Indians and English Confirmed to them, And once Since my being Governour of these Provinces, As will Appear by the Inclosed Treaty of the 19th. August 1717.

I also take the Liberty to Acquaint Your Lordsps that full Credence ought to be given to Monsr. Vaudreuils Letters, I being well Acquainted with his hand, having received Several letters from him since my residing in these Parts, And have compared the Originals I have by me, with those I had formerly received from him, And find them to Agree Exactly.

As for Monsr. Begon the Intendants Letter I cannot Speak so plumply to it because I never had any Correspondence with him, but am well Informed the Original is of his writing.

I further Judge it Necessary to Acquaint your Lordships that in a piece of a letter where the name and date were cutt out there is Mention made of one Charlevoix who comes from the Court of ffrance in the quality of an Inspector to make Memoirs on Acady & Missisipi & the other Countrys thereabouts.

The Indians have lately killed some of our Cattle & threaten our Eastern Settlements, So that I am Under some Apprehension that a War will break out this Summer (which I will Indeavour if possible to prevent) Except Some Measures be taken to Oblige the ffrench Government at Canada to Act Strictly up to the Stipulations Agreed to, betwixt the Crowns of Great Brittain & France.

I am
My Lords
Your Lordships
most humble Servant
Samll Shute.

B. T.
New Engld, Bun. x. vol. 16,
Office Pub. Records, London.

To the Rt. Honble the Lords of Trade & Plantations.

Letter from His Excellency the Governour to the Marquess DeVaudreil Governour of Canada.

Sir

In the month of September last I did myself the Honor of writing to you a Letter by the way of Albany, which I hope came Safe to your hand ; however for fear of a Miscarriage I have now sent you a Copy of it. Therein you will observe the great Confidence I had at that time in your Justice and Friendship with respect to the Indians at Norridgewock, but I am Sorry to find I was so much mistaken ; You have Convinced me by Letters under your own hand, That I was in the wrong to Expect the least Service from you upon that Occasion, For it appears over & over again, That the Hostile appearance and Insolent Behaviour of the Indians at Arowsick in the Summer last past, was not only with your Allowance but even of your projecting from the beginning ; And your Approbation of it afterwards, That you excited them to it, Supplyed them in it, with Officers and Stores of War, and after all was done, mightily applauded & Rewarded them, And least they should be at a loss what to say to the English, you even put Words into their Mouths, & prepared Instructions for their Conduct in that Affair ; I must needs Say, Sir, I should not Easily have been brought to Believe these things of a Gentleman, a Christian, and a Governor of a French Colony, and who as such is Obliged to live in Peace and Friendship with the English Government ; But what shall I say ? I have your Original Instructions, and Letters now before me, as you may See by the Copies of some of them, which I now Inclose ; The Originals I shall send home to His Majesty my Great Master ; You do indeed suggest, That you have Orders for what you have done or shall do further in this Affair ; His Majesty will soon Discover the Truth and Validity of that pretence, and how Agreeable Your Conduct has been both to the Letter and Spirit of the Treaty

of Utecht, more especially to the twelfth and Sixteenth Articles: Is it thus, We are to Imitate the Examples of our Masters at Home, who live in such strict Allegance and Friendship? Should I have offered to Stir up the Indian Tribes at St. Francois or Bèsaucourt, or any other within the Bounds of Your Government to commit such Affronts and Hostilities to the Government and People of Canada, would you not justly & greatly have Complained of it; I do not Judge it necessary to Enter far into a an Argument upon this Head; But I Could Easily Convince you how very much you are in the wrong to Concern your self with an Indian Tribe that are settled upon one of the principal Rivers of New England, that live in the Neighborhood of Our English Towns & Garrisons, & until very lately have Constantly Conversed and traded with them, and pass by the English settlements every time they Come to the sea for their Fishery, And their Lands or place of Settlement must of necessity fall within the English Pale or Territory, inasmuch as the Crown of Great Britain have now the Right & Dominion of Nova Scotia, formery called L'Accadie with all its Dependencies, But above all, and what I very much Insist on, This Tribe of the Indians, as well as that of Penobscot, have for a great number of years last past, by frequent and Solemn Treaties, willingly and Joyfully put themselves under the Protection of the Crown of Great Britain, & the Government of New England, and on these Occasions have had Tokens of His Majesties kindness & Friendship presented to them; And you may Depend upon it His Majesty will never quit His right and Interest with respect to those Indian Tribes, but Insist upon it to the last, And while I have the Honour to be His Governour here, I shall Endeavor to do my Duty in Defending and Maintaining it, and shall take Just and proper Measures to prevent such Insults and Injuries to His Majesties good subjects for the future; I suppose Mr. Rallé, who has been the great Incendiary in all this Affair has acquainted you with his narrow Escape; he will do well to take warning by it, & return to his own Countrey, or at least to Canada, and no longer abuse his profession by Stirring up the Indians of this Countrey to Acts of Hostility, which if Continued in, will finally End in their ruin.

I shall be glad if upon this Remonstrance Your future Conduct towards this Government and the Indian Tribes Dependent thereon, Especially those of Norridgewock and Penobscot may be such as to give me Occasion to say, what I would willingly do, That I am, Sir

B. T. Your very humble Servt.
New Engld, Samll. Shute.
Bun. x. vol. 16,
Office Pub. Records, London.
Boston March 14th, 1721.

A Letter from his Excellency the Governour to the Marquess de Vaudreil Governour of Canada.

Sir

Since the finishing of my Letter of the 14th of March last past I have the honour to receive one of yours dated at Quebec the 22d day of

December last, Consisting of several Articles to which I shall Endeavor to give a particular answer.—and first, As to the Order of the Regent of France for the Return of the English Captives I have Inclosed you a Faithful Translation of the Original, by which you will Judge whether I have been under any Mistake in that matter. And notwithstanding what you are pleased to say of the Liberty that was given to the Prisoners to return, yet I am well Informed there was such pains taken & also used to dissuade them that they could not be said to act at full liberty.

In my other Letter, I have given you a large Account of the Insult of the Indians at Arowsick and, yet from some passages in your Letter I am obliged to act something further in this; You are pleased to call Arowsick (where the Indians made their Hostile appearance) a place of the Indians own Land; I persuade myself, if you knew the Circumstances of that part of this Province, you would not be of that opinion: Arowsick is a small Island at the Mouth of one of our Chief Rivers, purchased by good Deeds from the Natives near Seventy years agone, and settled with a good English Village about fifty years since; Besides a Patent of Confirmation from the Crown of Great Britain to the Purchasers; since my arrival in this Government the Inhabitants of that place have sent a Burgess to represent them in the General Assembly of this Province, and yet you are pleased to call this Town a place of the Indians own lands.

That the Indians will deny their own Deeds tho never so Solemnly Ratified and justly obtained, I am very apt to Believe, but in the meantime that does not destroy the Title to such Lands; neither can I be of your opinion, as to their Treaties, That they are Null, because the Body of their Nation shall please afterwards to Disavow it; I am sure it is otherwise by the Laws of Nations and usage of all Civilized Governments in the World; all Treaties, Stipulations, and Transactions that are Managed and Concluded by Plenipotentiaries or Delegates being obligatory to the Nation or Government that Imploy them; Now it is Notorious, that at all times when this Government accepted the submission of, or Treated with those eastern Indians, their Delegates, or some of their Chiefs were present, and produced their Powers or Credentials from the Tribe; and it is very wrong and unjust in them to Insinuate, that they were ever menaced or forced into any of their Deeds, Treaties, or Submissions.

They have also misinformed you in Saying, that I had appointed to meet them the last year; for on the Contrary I sent them word by an Express, That some of the Principal Gentlemen of this Government would see and treat with them at Arowsick, who accordingly went thither, but finding no Indians returned.

As to their Insolent Letter, I shall say no more of it in this, having taken particular notice of it in my other.

I am obliged to you for your Good Advice against a War with those Salvages, and am very sensible of the hazzards, mischiefs, and Expence of it, And I assure you, I have no design at present to Enter into a War with them, unless they force the Government upon it.

All that I design at present, and which I am firmly Resolved in it, to Defend and Protect the English Inhabitants of this Goverment in their Just rights, and Possessions from the Injuries and Insults of the Indians, and I hope for the Divine Assistance and Blessing in so doing, Having my Great Masters positive Orders to Maintain all the English Garrisons and Settlements in those parts of the province.

You are pleased to say that the Abanakis Nation are under the Protection of the Crown of France. If you Intend the Indians at Norridgewock, It is the first time I have heard the French pretend to any such thing, much less can I conceive upon what Foundation it subsists. If they chuse the allegance and Protection of the French, In Gods Name, let them move into the Confines of the Government of Canada; I am very sure the place of their residence at present Vizt. Norridgewock is within the Territory of Great Britain, And Accordingly they have actually by many Solemn Treaties upon Record in this Government, Put themselves under His Majesty's Protection, and received Marks of his Royal Favour; As you may depend upon it, I shall never Concern myself with any of the Indian Tribes that live within the bounds of Canada, or any French Government; so I expect to be Treated on your part.

You are very particular in your account of Monsr. Bellisle, who it seems was not with the Indians, But then you are very silent as to Monsr. Croissel, who was a French Officer and under your Command, and yet at the Head of the Indians at Arowsick. This even by your own Letter, was not agreeable to the Treaty of Peace & Friendship between the Two Crowns.

As to Monsr. Casteen, before the receiving of your Letter, I had by the Consent of the General Assembly of this Province, Given Orders for his Discharge and return; But then it was upon his humble submission & Parole of good Behaviour for the future towards this Government, as to himself personally, so also very much with respect to the Indian Tribe at Penobscot; and tho you seem to be of Opinion, That the sending for him was so very wrong and unjustifyable, yet he himself was sensible of the Contrary, and has acknowledged by a Memorial under his hand, That by his appearance with the Indians at Arowsick he had given Just Occasion to this Governmnt. to call him to an Account.

As to Monsr. Rallés Mission among the Indians, I shall be Glad, if by his preaching he has brought those poor Salvages anything nearer to the Kingdom of Heaven, than they were before he went thither; But that which I have to say to him, and to you upon this Account is, That Norridgewock the seat of his Mission, is within the Territory of His Majesty King George, and that it is Contrary to an act of Parliament of Great Britain, and a Law of this Province for a Jesuit or Romanish Priest to Preach or even reside in any part of the British Dominions.

I have now, I think, given you a particular Answer to everything you were pleased to Observe to me; I should have been much better pleased our Correspondence might have been on a Subject more agreeable and Pleasant; I shall be very Glad, while I have the Honour to be in this

Government, to live with perfect Peace with our Eastern Indians and nothing shall be wanting on my part; At the same time, I must Intreat you to use all your Interest and influence (which I believe to be very Considerable) for the Same good purpose: This is what you have once and again, in your former Letters Given me an Assurance of.

B. T. I am,
New Engld, Your very Humble & Obedient
Office Pub. Records, London. Servant
SAM^ll SHUTE.

BOSTON, April 23d 1722.

FATHER RALLÉ'S ADDRESS FOR THE INDIANS.

ENGLISHMEN.

I that am of Norridgewack have had Thoughts that thou wilt Come and Burn our Church & Our Fathers House to Revenge thyself without Cause for the Houses that I have Burnt of thine.

It was thou that didst force me to it, why didst thou build them upon my Land without my Consent

I have not yet burnt any, but what was upon my own land ; Thou mayest burn it, because thou knowest that I am not there such is thy Generosity, for if I were there, Assuredly thou shouldst not burn it, altho thou shouldest Come with the number of many hundred Men.

It is Ill built, because the English dont work well ; It is not finished, altho five or six English men have wrought there during the space of four years, and the Undertaker who is a great Cheat, hath been paid in advance for to finish it.

I tell the nevertheless, That if thou dost burn it in Revenge, upon my Land thou mayest Depend upon it, That I will Revenge myself also and that upon thy Land in such a manner as will be more sensible and more Disadvantageous to the, for one of thy Meeting houses or Temples is of more value beyond Compare than our Church. And I shall not be Satisfied with Burning only one or two of thine, but many ; I know where they are, and the Effect shall make the know that I have been as good as my word.

This shall certainly be done sooner or later for the War is but just beginning ; And if thou wouldest know where it will have an End I tell the it will not have an end but with the World. If thou Canst not be driven out before I Dye, Our Children and Nephews will Continue it till that time, without thy being able to enjoy it peaceably.

This is what I say to the, who am of Norridgewack, in the Name of all the NATION.

Translated from the French. The foregoing was found upon the Church Door at Norridgewock & in the hand Writing of Father Rallé the Jesuit.

Copyes of Monsr. Vaudreil Governor of Canada's Letters, formerly sent to the Governor of New England and transmitted to the Right Hon-

orable The Lord Carteret Secretary of State as also of a letter lately received from Canada, 1722.

LOVERJAT'S LETTER TO FATHER RALLÉ.

A Nasalkehunanjan
Juliet 1724.

My Reverend ffather.

P. C. Sixteen Englishmen were killed whilest Joseph was gon to you Two boats were burnt and forty Seven in all were killed and taken prisoners with Eleven Sloops as we Commonly say Sword in hand and that after an obstinate fight on Each side all which will contribute to our gallantry and will increase our Village if it be well preserved.

In spite of all the Indians can say all the Glory is owing to Sagsarrab.

FATHER RALLÉ'S LETTER TO

+ Norridgwalk 23d. Augt. N. S.
12 O. S.

My Reverend Father

My People are returned from their last Expedition, wherein one of their Bravest Champions was killed, Believing there were above two hundred English divided in three Parties or Bands to drive them out of their Camp. And expecting a further number to Enforce them in order to ruin all the Corn in the fields without doubt. But I said to them, how Could that be, Seing we are daily Surrounding & making Inroads upon them everywhere in the midst of their Land, and they not coming out of their Fort, which they have upon your own Land Besides in all the War you have had with them, did you ever see them Come to Attack you in the Spring, Summer or in the fall; when they knew you were in your habitations. You know it, you Say Your selves that they never did, but when they knew you was not, but when you were in the Woods. For if they knew there were but fifteen or twelve Men in your Dwellings they dare not approach you with One hundred. We told you after the fall fight of Ke Kepenagliesek that the English would come with the Nation of Iroquois to Revenge themselves. You Opposed it and said they should not, and yet they did, you see now whether You are in the right. I had Reason to Believe it Foundered on the Kings word; who could ever think that he should forge such a falsehood & how should I then Answer or Right. And it was to make good their false Designs that they came here to shew themselves as Master of your Land (contrary to my Expectation) where they would not have a Romish Priest to dwell. And if they did not burn the Church, it is that I did send them Word in your behalf, That if they should burn it, you should burn all their Temples. Therefore there was an Order to the officer not to burn anything. They hearken to all my Reasons afore-

going, but follow their own They Design to quit the Village for a fortnight, and to go five or Six Leagues up the River, they proposed it to me and I have Given my Consent. When I spoke to them on such an Occasion I Declared my thought, without Obliging them to follow the same : But Declared to them that I was ready to follow their own. It is but a few days since we came to the Village and the last are arrived this morning.

The day before yesterday arrived a party of the Becaucourians being nine in number, but I nave no dependence on them. But my Dependence is upon K8na8ons, the former being favourers of the English—Yesterday 12 or 15 Panna8anskeins, four Hurones with One wounded arrived here almost Starved—Therefore they must be Supplied tho the Corn is not Ripe. They must take it as it is, for we are almost reduced to a Famine Provisions being so Scarse. As for my self thro the Grace of God I have gathered in the most part of my Field and Husked the same, which is now a drying ; for I can Expect none or little from the Salvages.

Three Hurones are this morning to depart, and go into the War with Becancouriens; The Pana8auskeians Desired the Hurones to carry away their wounded. Say they, you seek nothiug but Scalps, there is five which we give you. They have had some likewise in this Village, & are to depart to morrow Morning. My own People are also to depart, and are now Deliberately Consulting whether they shall Joyn with the Becancouriens Ratio Dubitandi Est. That the 8arinakiens have not Acted against the English Save one of them, that the English should have no Occasion to Complain of them ; for K8na8ans who is of this Village has all along been with them. The 8arinakiens said when my People came to War that they Joyn with the Narridgewalks who follow the English very close by frequent Discharge of their pieces when the others keep at a distance. And when they return they would take all the honour of War to themselves, which is very displeasing to my people, who are Deserving of the true Honour Therefore they Conclude to go by themselves in different Parties as I had advised them.

It is therefore for the same Reason that they did let the Hurones go by themselves. At their arrival here, there was a Party ready to embark ; And I advised my People that two of them should go as a Guard to the Hurones 8 saum8es and Mathirw are to Joyn them. But my People Come and tell me that the Hurones being in Company with them before used to say in Canada That the Narridgewalks were but Women in the War &c. I am sure said I that is a Calumny that the Hurones Cast upon them, they have no reason to say any such thing. They have seen you in the Action and you have Given them several scalps &c. But they know the way & tell us every Spot, however let them go by themselves.

I just now received a Letter from Father Loverjat with four Codd fish out of Eight he sent me. The Bears have Eat four by the way, and said it was a Case of necessity being for want of Provisions. Tho their

Village is full of Cod fish out of 15 or 16 Vessels they have taken; the Father sent me word that by a suitable Opportunity he shall send me more; And hath sent me word that they have newly taken three Vessels & killed ten Men, some on the Spot and others by reason they revolted from those who had spared their lives &c. They have Attempted to burn the Fort of St. George by two fire Shipps or Vessels, but for want of Wind they miscarried. The fire began to take the Wood part of the Fort, whereupon they heard the English make a great Cry and Lamentation some of them coming out of the Fort to attempt to Extinguish the fire, which the Indians Could not kill by reason of their being posted on the Contrery side, they not foreseeing that the English Could Come out of the ffort on that side. The fire of one of the Vessels went out soon of it self and the English had it.

After that nine of the Indians went off in a Vessel, where they were Attacked by two English Vessels they Engaged for some time; And the Indians having no more powder Attempted to Board one of them, but they Shunned it. Wherefore the Indians were obliged to retire Eleven other Indians went in a Vessel and espied two English vessels in the Road, & went to plunder them, but seeing they were full of People and themselves not able to stand them, did save themselves by swimming a shoar & leaving their vessel, Says the Father I attribute the Bad Success to their Ungratefulness to God and their Disobedience to me. A Vessel said, he which comes from Mines for to bring us Provision said that an English Man Assured him that they had a very great Inclination for Peace at Boston; And he doubted not but it would be Concluded next fall, which appears very Probable because a Vessel which went from here to Boston to bring a Ransom for the Prisoners that are here is not returned, notwithstanding the time is a great deal Expired, and I have answered them that that did not agree with the Council D'Orange that were Resolute to keep their Land I further said that I would never permit my People to receive a Ransom for those they take; ffor there is not one but would Ransom himself, and if we should hearken to it, the English would never think to return the Land for the loss of their People, that they would easily buy &c.

The Father Loyard wrote to him that his People with the Mickemacks have been in two Parties to make an attempt upon the English at Port Royal; one of those Parties Attackt the Fort it self, where they did kill six men & burnt two Houses after they had plundered them, the other party is not yet returned back.

My People are Absolutely willing to Return to those Forts where one of our Brave Champions was killed in the last Party.

I am very glad that Mr. Lieutenant hath Accepted my present. They have brought me my Chocolate. The two Bills that James was to have brought with him are Cast away by over setting a Canno. I am well stock'd with Chocolate for a long time, which I came easily by, & it shall not be presently carried away for it is very weighty As for the Remaining part you keep for me it may be it troubles you as much, as it would

trouble me if I had it. The Father Dupy had a Warehouse where I put all the woolen linnen shot & powder as well as the Blanketting & gun you got for me since the Canno of the Hurones was here I added those things to his Merchandize for him to make the best profit. As for me I am Contented & I think well paid. The Wine shall be put into the Cellar to be mixt wth that of the House. If the Tobacco were here it should be put into the Magazine.

I am very much Obliged to you my Revd. Father for the Care you take of me. You are willing I should live as a Chanoine till the Spring by the plentiful supply that you have sent me by Pauscawen. I have yet considerable for my self for the Winter. Since they sent me some Wine I take a glass after my Mass but I don't find it keeps me so well as a Dram of Brandy. I want nothing but Spanish Wine for the Mass. I have enough for myself for about 12 months. Therefore I pray for the 3d time to send me no more Wine. I shall send for more when I want it.

Not finished.

Lt. Govrs. Letter to the Govt. of Canada.

Lt. Govr. Dummer to Govr. Vaudreuil.

Boston N England January 19th. 1724.

Sir

Your Letter dated Quebec October 29th pr Henry Edgar one of the English Captives came safe to me; on perusal thereof I am greatly Surprized at the matters Contained therein, which are so unjustly represented, that I cannot Satisfy my self to pass them by unanswered. In the first place As to what you say relating to the death of Monsr. Rallé the Jesuit, which you set forth as so Inhumane & Barbarous; I readily acknowledge that he was slain, amongst other of our Enemies at Norridgewalk; and if he had Confined himself unto the professed Duty of his ffunction viz to Instruct the Indians in the Christian Religion, had kept himself within the bounds of the French Dominions, and had not Instigated the Indians to War & Rapine there might then have been some ground of Complaint; But when instead of Preaching Peace, Love and Friendship Agreeable to the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, he has been a Constant and Notorious Fomenter & Incendiary to the Indians to kill burn & Destroy, as flagrantly appears by many original Letters and manuscripts, I have of his by me, and when in open Violation of an Act of Parliament of Great Britain, and the Laws of this Province strictly forbidding Jesuits to reside or teach within the British Dominions, he has not only resided, but also once & again appeared at the head of great numbers of Indians, in an Hostile manner threatning and Insulting, as also publickly assaulting the subjects of His British Majesty; I say, If after all, such an Incendiary has happened to be slain in the heat of Action, among our open and Declared Enemies, surely

none can be blamed, therefor but himself, nor can any safeguard from you, or any other Justify him in such proceedings; and I think I have much greater Cause to Complain, that Mr. Willard the minister of Rut land (who never had been guilty of the Facts charged upon Mr. Rallé & applied himself solely to the preaching of the Gospel) was by the Indians you sent to Attack that Town Assaulted, slain & scalpt, & his scalp Carried in Triumph to Quebec.

As to the next article you mention, That St. Georges River was in the year 1700 by order of the two Crowns Marked as the bounds of the English & French Lands whereby it appeared That Penobscot was given to you, and that one La ffevre had a right to the Land therebounts, & that all Vessels paid a Duty to him, and that Mr. Capon Envoy of England when King George came u pon the Throne, went to ask the Penobscot Indians to submit themselves to England, which they refused—I have no difficulty to answer to each of the aforesd Points; And as to the last relating to Mr. Capon you Labour under a very great Mistake to mention him as an Envoy of England, he being far below any such Character, and only an Inferiour Officer, Commissary or Victualler to the Garrison of Annapolis, & sometime after that was taken and yielded up to the English, sent by the Lieutenant Govr. of that place to visit the French settlements within that District & to require an Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity from them to Queen Anne; but he had no Occasion to Come and Entice the Penobscot Indians to submit themselves to England, for they as well as the Norridgwalk Indians & many other Tribes had done that long before even in the year 1693 at a Treaty of Sr. William Phipps Governor of this Province, by which Treaty, I can make it appear, that they not only submitted themselves as subjects to the Crown of England, but also renounced the French Interest & Quitted Claim to the Lands bought and possessed by the English; But since King Georg came to the Throne Mr. Capon has not been in those parts at all, as I am Informed by the People of that Country.

As to St. Georges River being the bounds and La ffevres pretended Right it seems very wonderful you should make any mention of those things or lay any weight upon them at this time, when if the Case were formerly as you now represent it, which I do not allow, all such Claim and pretension is wholly superceeded, and at an end; whereof you may soon and easily satisfy your self by Consulting the Treaty of peace at Utrech Concluded bet the two Crowns in the year 1713 by the twelfth Article, whereof it is provided, "That all Nova Scotia or L'Accadie "with its Ancient Boundaries &c. together with the Dominion property "& possession of the 2d Islands Lands & places, and all right to which, the "Most Christian King, the Crown of France, or any of the subjects "thereof have hitherto had to the Islands Lands & places, and the In-"habitants of the same are Yielded & made over to the Queen of Great "Britain & to her Crown forever—Now, by the aforesd. Resignation, the French King Quitted all Right not only to the Lands, but also the Inhabitants whether ffrench or Indians, or whatsoever they were & trans-

ferred the same to the Crown of Great Britain forever, whereby you are Entirely Cut off from any Claim to the subjection of the said Indians, from thence forward; and we are not Ignorant how far the ffrench King understood the Countrey of L'Accadie to Extend Westward by his Patent Granted to Monsr. D'Aleney tho you seem to be a stranger to it.

As to the whole Nation of the Indians Exclaiming against some of their Tribe, as pretending they were suborned to give Deeds for their Lands, if it be matter of Fact, that they do so, which is hard to be Conceived, it is a most unjust Imputation, & must Argue a wonderful Deceitfulness & self Contradiction in them, since they have upon all Treatys when the whole Tribes were together Constantly acknowledged and submitted to the English Titles and possessions, which they had by honest and Lawful purchase Acquired.

As to the Building of Forts any where within the British Dominions I suppose you will not scruple to acknowledge that the King of Great Britain has as good a right to Erect Fortresses or places of Defence within His Dominions, as the ffrench King has in his And therefore when you shall please to Give me Instances of the French Kings Applying himself to the Indians for leave to build a Fort or Forts for the Defence of His subjects I shall then give you a further answer to that Argument—And in the mean time I must tell you we have always treated the Indians with sincerity, & never thought it proper to make Apologies for Building Forts within our own Jurisdiction (as you Insinuate) but on the Contrary in all our Treatys with them have Ascerted our undoubted right so to do.

You likewise signify that we must Blame no body but our selves for the Violence and Hostilities Committed against Our nation by the Indians. But syr, If the blame must lye where it ought I must Impute their Outrages, falsness & Ill Conduct towards us, not so much, to their own Inclinations, as to the Instigations of the Jesuit Rallé & others Under your Government, whereof we have had sufficient Information from time to time, as also of your own forcing the Indians against their wills upon our Frontiers to destroy & Cutt off our People which Cannot be otherwise lookt upon as a direct & Notorious Violation of the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht.

Nevertheless sir, After all, I have much greater Inclination to live in Amity & good Correspondence with you than otherwise, And therefore I have sent Collo. Samuel Thaxter one of His Majesties Council, and Collo. William Dudley one of the House of Representatives who are Commissioned to Confer with you Pursuant to such Instructions as they have received from me; and I Desire that you will Give Credence to them accordingly.

I am

Sir

Your Most Humble &
Most Obedt. servant
WM. DUMMER.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF PENOBSCOT DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 21, 1883.

BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

THE investment of Penobscot, now Castine, during the war of the Revolution; the successful defense of the place during a protracted siege against the strongest force which could be brought against it, and its uninterrupted retention by the enemy for over four years, and until after such retention had formed the subject of many vexed questions of diplomacy, and constituted the last vestige of British authority in the old thirteen colonies;—form one of the most interesting passages in our history. Whether this interest is due to the importance which had been attached to the locality for five generations, from associations with the Pilgrim fathers, with La Tour and D'Aulnay, with the representatives of Cromwell and of the Prince of Orange, with the pious followers of Loyola and Castine, or whether it is due merely for military reasons to the natural strength of the place, do not form the object of present inquiry. Nor is it intended to dwell upon the details of the siege, but simply to trace the history of the place from August, 1776, when the Americans were dispersed, until its restoration to them four years afterward.

The commander of the armed vessels which warded off the attack was Captain Henry Mowat; of the land forces, General Francis McLean. As the former was at the head of the two most important events that took place in Maine during the revolution, and as little has been written concerning him, a brief account of his life and service may not be inappropriate.

HENRY MOWAT.

Henry Mowat was born in Scotland, in 1734. He was son of Captain Patrick Mowat, of Her Majesty's ship "Dolphin." After an experience at sea of six years he was commissioned as

lieutenant of the ship "Baltimore" in 1758. The certificate of his "passing" by the admiralty records sets forth that "He produceth journals kept by himself in the Chesterfield & Ramilies (as midshipman), and certificates from Captains Ogle and Hobbs of his Diligence, etc.; he can splice, knot, reef a sail, etc., and is qualified to do the duty of an able Seaman and Midshipman." In 1764, he was promoted to be a commander and served as such on the "Canceaux" for twelve years. At the time of the destruction of Falmouth he was forty-one years old. His next vessel, the sloop "Albany," was the flag-ship of the squadron at Penobscot. After a service of thirty years on our coast, he died of apoplexy, April 14, 1798, aged sixty-four, on board his ship, the "Assistance," near Cape Henry. His remains were interred at Hampton, Virginia. He had three brothers in the navy, of whom two were killed in action on the "London," off St. Domingo, and the other, Alexander, died in command of the "Rattlesnake," in the West Indies, in 1793. He left a son, John Alexander, who entered the navy in 1804, and who is probably the one placed under the educational charge of Rev. Jacob Bailey the Episcopal missionary at Pownalboro.

Captain Mowat left no will, and no letters of administration on his estate appear on record in England. A short time before his death he wrote "A Relation of the Services in which I was Engaged in America, from 1759, to the close of the American War in 1783." Probably it was never printed. An exhaustive search for it at the British Museum and in the principal libraries of the United Kingdom has been without success. Advertisements in the "London Times," and in "Notes and Queries," offering a liberal reward for information of its existence have proved equally unavailing. The last trace of its title is found in "Rodd's Catalogue of Books and MSS.," published in London, in 1843, where it is described as a folio, and placed at eighteen shillings. Its discovery would shed much light upon our revolutionary history. We should learn from it the particulars of dismantling Fort Pownal soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, and should also be informed of the reasons which induced the occupation of Penobscot. We should also learn whether the author instigated the destruction of Falmouth, or acted under the strict orders of his superior officer; and whether the denunciations which have

visited him for that act with as much warmth as if he merely gratified his private antipathies are or are not deserved. It is to be feared, however, that the lost manuscript has shared the fate of the Gorges papers, which Dr. Palfrey the historian, says, "It is not extravagant to suppose, may, undreamed of by their possessor, be now feeding the moth in the garret of some manor-house in Somerset or Devon, or in some crypt of London, which vast city has always been the receptacle, often the final hiding-place of such treasures."

Although little is known of Capt. Mowat's private character, several incidents concerning him which have been preserved place it in a favorable light. His kindness to many suffering families on the Penobscot is not forgotten; while the letter that accompanied the committal of his son to Mr. Bailey contains sentiments of affection, kindness, and respect, and, as the biographer of the latter suggests, is not the production of a brutal or ignorant man.

In personal appearance Mowat was a little above middle size, of good form, and with a fresh countenance. One who saw him soon after the siege says he wore a blue coat with lighter blue facings, and had his hair powdered.

Apprehensive of a second attack, Gen. McLean labored unceasingly after the siege was raised, to complete Fort George, which name had been given to the fortress in honor of King George III. Neighboring mechanics were employed and liberally paid. The soldiers were kept on fatigue duty every day including Sunday, and by December the works had reached a good state of defense. Bomb-proof apartments were probably constructed in three of the bastions, and batteries erected at various assailable points. As the peninsula contained few houses, barracks were built for officers and men. Before winter set in the soldiers were well housed and always were well clothed and well fed. Their situation was in striking contrast to that of the American army shivering in tents at Morristown. The officers seem to have been mindful of the comfort of their men. On one occasion, in a general order, the commandant regrets that "he is under the disagreeable necessity of restricting the garrison to two-thirds of their ordinary allowance of rum and butter" until an arrival from Halifax, "when they shall have credit for what will be then due them." It became necessary, however, to limit the sale of

liquors, and another general order provides that "no inhabitant shall in future sell any spirituous liquors to any non-commissioned officer or soldier, under the penalty of forfeiting all the liquors in his possession. A duplicate copy of this order to be put on the fort gate that no one can plead ignorance." This was the first "Maine Law," and doubtless more practically enforced than its numerous successors have been.

Many of the officers were men of education and refinement. Gen. McLean was cool and determined, "a man of noble spirit." His generous conduct toward the distressed inhabitants caused him to be loved and respected by friend and foe. After a few months' service he was ordered to Halifax, where he died in 1781. Colonel Campbell his successor remained several years. He is said to have been a violent, impulsive man. General Wadsworth wrote in the highest terms of the polite attentions which he, while a prisoner, received from Colonel Campbell and his officers. Among the latter was Captain Craig, subsequently, as Governor of Canada, known as Sir James Craig. Lieutenant Moore, then but eighteen years old, afterward the distinguished Sir John Moore, whose name has been immortalized by the beautiful lines of Wolfe, was then attached to Colonel Campbell's staff. He also acted as paymaster in the 74th Foot, a regiment raised by the Duke of Hamilton and called the Argyle Highlanders. This regiment, and also the 82d, remained during the first winter. The men in the former wore kilts, that is, very wide trousers extending to the knees, and then buckled to stockings above the calf of the leg. Detachments from the regiment remained at Penobscot until the post was broken up. Lieutenant Moore, however, left during the first year. Dr. John Calf, formerly of Ipswich, Mass., was its surgeon, and a portion of the time acted as chaplain, holding at the fort each Sabbath services, according to the forms of the English Church, which general orders recommended all persons to attend.

The month of January, 1780, proved intensely cold. Penobscot bay was frozen to its mouth, and persons passed to the opposite shore on the ice. One can imagine the isolated condition of the garrison, which then saw their only communication with the outside world entirely cut off. Probably they resorted to the same expedients for keeping up their spirits, as did Lescarbot and

his companions at Port Royal, during the dreary winter of 1606. Hunting and other outdoor amusements beguiled the days; and when night closed in, seated by generous fires and wide-mouthed chimneys, the song, the joke and the story inspired a comfort and a cheerfulness, which those bred to the profession of arms, always most readily find, and most keenly enjoy.

Although life at Fort George was comparatively pleasant, the experience of almost every day indicated that the troops were by no means "carpet soldiers." Massachusetts, chagrined at the ignoble defeat which her arms had sustained there, was constantly devising vindication, and her movements could not have been concealed. Hence the garrison was always prepared for an attack. Sentinels manned the walls of the fort night and day; a complete line patrolled without the ditch after sunset; while a picket guard environed the whole peninsula.

As early as April, 1780, another expedition to repel the enemy was proposed by Massachusetts, and aid was asked from the commander-in-chief. But at that time our affairs were passing through a gloomy crisis. Our army was unpaid, and every department was destitute of money and credit. Washington demonstrated how far the project exceeded our resources; and in deference to his advice, it was abandoned.

The naval force at Penobscot was constantly changing. Vessels of war, privateers and their prizes, made the harbor a busy scene; while raids along the coast for plunder and to secure the persons of prominent patriots were of frequent occurrence.

In July, 1780, General Charles Cushing, of Pownalboro, was brought a prisoner to the fort. A small force entered his chamber by night, and telling his wife that if she raised an alarm the Indians with the party would scalp her, marched him across the country through the woods. By vigilance in discharging his duties as sheriff and military officer, General Cushing had become especially obnoxious to the tories, which led to this method of revenge. After a short detention, as no specific charge against him could be proved, he was liberated.

The capture of General Wadsworth at Thomaston during the following winter, his long imprisonment, and the interesting escape of Major Barton and himself, is too familiar for repetition.

Daniel Sullivan, a brother of General John Sullivan, was the

object of one of these expeditions. He resided in the town which bears the family name, near Castine. At the siege he commanded a company, and after returning home, he kept them in readiness for action, inflicting many severe blows upon the enemy. The English and tories made several attempts to capture him, which from the constant vigilance of the patriots, were ineffectual. But one stormy night in February, 1781, a British war vessel, the "Allegiance," commanded by Mowat, anchored near his residence, and landed a large force. The house was silently entered, and Captain Sullivan aroused from slumber, only to find his bed surrounded by armed men. He was hurried to the boat, and his dwelling fired so suddenly that the children were with difficulty saved by their mother and the hired man. Carried before Colonel Campbell, his liberty and future protection from harm were tendered him, on condition he took the oath of allegiance. Rejecting these proposals, he was conveyed to Halifax, and thence sent to New York, where he was confined for six months on the Jersey prison ship. When exchanged, he died on the passage home, probably the victim of British cruelty.

These are only instances of the incursions made by the British and the tories. The latter were responsible for most of the dastardly acts committed in Maine. It was a tory who as guide to the captors of General Wadsworth, and "Black Jones" an active partisan of the royal government, headed the raid against his old townsman, General Cushing. Such are the passions engendered by war—and most of all by civil war—that neighbors, friends and brothers are led by a sense of interest, duty or inclination, to opposite sides of the contest, and view each other not merely as foes, but traitors and parricides.

So rigorous, however, was military discipline, that in October, 1780, when, in the cause of science, Massachusetts asked permission for astronomers of Harvard College and the American Academy, to make observations of a total eclipse of the sun, the central point of which would be on Long Island, a few miles from Penobscot, landing for the purpose was permitted only upon condition of remaining but two days, and holding no communication whatever with the inhabitants. From Captain Mowat, their report says, every attention was received.

During the same year an excitement was caused by the arrival

in the Bay of a French vessel of war, "His most Christian Majesty's frigate, the 'Hermione,' Captain La Touche," as General Heath informed Washington. No shots were exchanged, although she came near enough to take a plan of the works, which was forwarded to the French minister at Philadelphia. Probably this plan induced Rochambeau, the commander of the French fleet, to conceive the idea of re-taking Penobscot, at a time when he was idle at Newport, and he solicited the consent of Washington to do so. Washington gave General De Choisé, the officer who proposed conducting the expedition, a letter of introduction to the Massachusetts authorities; but he did not approve of the plan, and it was abandoned.

In 1783, the fort was much alarmed by a brilliant exploit made by Lieutenant, afterward Commodore, Preble. In the night that officer landed and captured a privateer brig of more than equal force, lying in the harbor. A furious cannonade took place, but in the darkness the shots did not take effect, and he carried off his prize without loss.

NEW IRELAND.

Immediately upon the firm establishment of a military post at Penobscot, it became the resort of loyalists from all parts of Massachusetts. One inducement for them to settle there was the probability that it would become the capital of a new province composed of the territory between the river Penobscot and the St. Croix, under the name of "New Ireland." The project was sanctioned by the king and his ministry, who saw in it an asylum for the proscribed citizens of the colony. A constitution was drawn, the marked feature of which, says Bancroft, "was the absolute power of the British parliament; and to make this power secure for all coming time, every landlord on acquiring land, whether by grant from the crown, or by purchase, or by inheritance, was bound to make a test declaration of allegiance to the king in his parliament, as the supreme legislature of the province." "To combat the prevailing disposition of the people to republicanism," there was to be by the side of the governor and council no elective assembly until the circumstances of the province should admit of it; but a middle branch of the legislature, of which every one of the members was to be named by the crown, to be distinguished by titles or emoluments, or both;

and though otherwise appointed for life, to remain ever liable to be suspended or removed by royal authority.

As a further security to aristocratic power, the lands were to be granted in large tracts, so that there might be great landlords and a tenantry. The church of England was to be the established church; the country to be divided into parishes, each with a glebe land; and the governor, the highest judge in the ecclesiastical court, to present to all benefices. A vicar-general with power to ordain was to open the way for a bishop. No provision was made for the establishment of schools or the education of the people. This constitution was approved by the cabinet on the tenth of August, 1780, and on the next day by the king. The project would undoubtedly have been carried into effect but for the adverse views of the attorney-general, who held that Massachusetts extended to the boundaries of Nova Scotia, and that the chartered rights of both provinces would not permit the interposition of a new one. His opinion prevailed, but the plan was not entirely abandoned until the close of the war.

The proclamation of General McLean, upon taking possession of Penobscot, expressly states that to afford friends of the crown in Maine a place of refuge and protection was the principal object in establishing a military post. The subject of restitution and compensation to the loyalists proved a great obstacle in negotiations for peace. England revived the old idea that the boundaries of Massachusetts went no further than Penobscot bay and river, hoping to save the eastern territory for her loyal subjects. But John Adams was decided upon the point and refused to yield a single inch of land as the following extracts from his diary show:—

Nov. 10, 1782. [Mr. Adams waited on Count Vergennes. [He was then in Paris, negotiating with Mr. Oswald, the English commissioner.] The Count asked me how we went on with the English. I told him we divided upon two points,— the Tories and the Penobscot; as it was impossible to believe that my Lord Shelburne, or the nation cared much about such points. The count remarked that the English wanted the country there "for masts." I told him that I thought there were but few masts there; but that I fancied it was not masts, but Tories, that again made the difficulty. Some of them claimed lands in that territory, and others hoped for grants there. I took out of my pocket and showed him the record of Governor Pownall's solemn act of burying a leaden plate with this inscription:—

"May 23, 1759. Province of Massachusetts Bay, Penobscot, Dominions of Great Britain. Possession confirmed by Thomas Pownall, Governor."

This was planted on the east side of the river Penobscot, three miles above marine navigation. I showed him, also, all the other records,—the laying out of Mount Desert, Machias, and all the other towns to the east of the river Penobscot; and told him that the grant of Nova Scotia by James I to Sir William Alexander, bounded it on the St. Croix.

Nov. 18. Returned Mr. Oswald's visit. We went over the old ground concerning the Tories. He began to use arguments with me to relax. I told him that he must not think of that, but must lend all his thoughts to convince and pursuade his court to give it up; that if the terms now before the court were not accepted, the whole negotiations would be broken off.

It is evident that the firmness of Mr. Adams saved the whole of eastern Maine to the United States. "I had but the alternative either to accept the terms proposed," said Shelburne, in the House of Lords, "or to continue the war."

PENOBSCOT AFTER PEACE.

Although on the thirtieth of November, 1782, provisional articles of peace were agreed upon with Great Britain, by which that power acknowledged the independence of the United States; yet the definitive treaty was not signed till the following September. During that intervening period the people of Massachusetts almost clamorously insisted that "the viperine nest at Penobscot" as one writer termed it, should be broken up. Pamphlets, which then, in many respects, took the place of newspapers, demanded an immediate withdrawal of the British troops, or if that was not done, their forcible expulsion. "I should be glad to see the better class of pamphlets you mention," wrote John Adams from Paris, early in 1783, to Benjamin Vaughan, then already an ardent friend of America, and particularly some to show the policy and necessity of an immediate evacuation of Penobscot." And to Henry Laurens, one of the peace commissioners, he writes, in March of the same year: "I wish I could see more serious preparations for vacating Penobscot. Our people will not feel like freemen in friendship with Great Britain until this is done."

WASHINGTON DECLINES TO RETAKE PENOBSCOT.

The popular feeling culminated in the winter of 1783, by an address to Washington from the Massachusetts Legislature, ask-

ing the co-operation of the American army in a proposed attempt to dislodge the enemy. His dignified and firm reply, dated on his fifty-first birthday, February 22, was to the following purpose: That in the present equivocal state of affairs it was impossible to give a decisive answer to the proposition; that peace on the one hand, or an attempt against New York on the other, might render any proceedings unnecessary or inexpedient; that the subject of future military operations was before Congress; that (if the war should be prolonged) aggressive or defensive measures would depend on their decision; that in the former case he should be happy to afford every aid in his power to gratify the wishes of the State, so far as could be done consistently with a due attention to the comparative magnitude of the several objects that might be in view, although he could not conceive an enterprise ought to be undertaken in that quarter without a naval force superior to the enemy's; and that in the latter case, viz., if defensive measures only should be adopted, the protection of the eastern frontier of the state would engage his particular attention.

This answer terminated any further movement, and although some of the British proposed a voluntary abandonment as early as the following July, no change in the garrison or its surroundings took place until six months later.

THE EVACUATION.

As the commencement of our Revolutionary struggle at Lexington, where only a few embattled farmers stood, has a peculiar significance, so also has its termination after an eight years' contest, by the abandonment of the last mark of British authority and of British arms from our soil, a more than local importance. It is national and historical. And as the event belongs to our own state it is well that this Society should not allow the centenary of its occurrence to pass away unnoticed.

The precise day on which Castine was abandoned may never be ascertained. But that it was in January, 1784, there is no doubt. "The London Chronicle" of May 8, 1784, contains an "Abstract of a Letter dated Penobscot, Jan. 1, 1784," in which the writer says:

I wrote you in my last I had built me a house here, and I expect in four or five days to leave it for some of the Rebels to take possession of, as this place will be evacuated in the course of a fortnight. I shall move to a place called St. Andrews, Passamaquoddy, in Nova Scotia, on the

western side of the bay of Fundy, on the mouth of the Schoodick River, which river we expect will be the boundary line between the American States and the Province of Nova Scotia. The inhabitants of this place all intend settling there, many having been there three months and have got houses erected to the number of sixty or seventy. . . . Capt. Pete, Mr. Robert Fagan and myself are agents for all the people who intend settling there.

"Pete" and "Fagan" are evident misprints for Pote and Pagan. Capt. Jeremiah Pote and Robert Pagan, his son-in-law, were for many years prominent merchants at Falmouth. Becoming obnoxions during the troubles with Mowat, in 1775, they were proscribed, and subsequently resided at Penobscot.

The statement that January was the month, is corroborated by Dr. William Ballard, in his "Historical and Topographical Sketch of Castine," written in 1815, as follows: "On evacuating this fort in January, 1784, the commanding officer of the British garrison waited several days for the arrival of the American force to take possession of the same; this not arriving, he suffered the privates on his embarking, to set fire to the barracks, and destroy everything within their power." Dr. Ballard, a graduate of Harvard College and an intelligent, reliable man, was stationed at Castine after the war of 1812 closed as a surgeon in the regular United States army. His information was probably obtained from the inhabitants, many of whom must have remembered the event and the time with accuracy.

Mr. Hildreth in his history, remarks, under date of September, 1783, that "the necessity of finding transports for the numerous royalists assembled there protracted the evacuation of New York." The same excuse is not applicable to Penobscot, for by the manuscripts of Sir Guy Carleton, it appears that transports were sent there in October, 1783, "to carry away troops and people." The delay is unaccounted for. It may have been occasioned by a forlorn hope that through some construction of the treaty, the Penobscot would still be the western boundary of Nova Scotia. One writer says that the British officers had become much attached to the place, and quitted it with reluctance. Certain it is that the Massachusetts authorities took no active measures in repossessing it. A request by the council to Governor Hancock, in July, 1783, that General Carleton be written to "urging the immediate evacuation of Penobscot," and that a military force

be retained until it is done, appears to have been unheeded. On the seventeenth of the following October, a message of the governor to the legislature, transmitting letters from Washington and from Sir Guy Carleton "in regard to taking possession of Penobscot fort after the British left it," induced the passage of a resolve authorizing the governor to take all necessary measures for the purpose. This resolve was not approved, and the letters referred to are not preserved. The next spring, a tardy movement was made by appointing General McCobb, of Georgetown, an agent to look after what remained of the abandoned post. His report is as follows:—

GEORGETOWN, May 24, 1784.

SIR: — Agreeable to your Excellency's orders to me, I repaired to Penobscot, and took an Inventory of all the Public Stores and buildings that I could find at that Place, which I have the Honor of transmitting to your Excellency, after which I took a Tour up the River, and made the Strictest Inquiry of the Inhabitants for the names of those which still remained among them which had taken an active part with the British Army and Fleet, a list of which names I have sent to the Hon. James Sullivan, Esq., with a Complaint against them, in order that it may be laid before your Excellency and the Hon. Council. I have the Honor to be with Respect, your Excellency's most Obed. Serv't.

SAMUEL MCCOBB.

His Excellency, John Hancock, Esq.

An account of the Public Stores, Buildings, etc., found on the Peninsular of Maja-bigwaduce.

3 houses, 2 stories high. 32 houses, 1 stories high. Wharves, 2. Stores and wharves, 2. The whole of the Building is said to be built by British Subjects and Refugees. 1 9 p'd Cannon without Carriage.

The whole of the Barracks and King's Store-Houses were burnt.

The list of inhabitants reported as hostile to American interests is missing. Perhaps Sullivan who always favored amnesty and oblivion toward conscientious loyalists, did not communicate it. Probably the most prominent loyalists accompanied the troops. The Carleton manuscripts, before cited, state that about six hundred went from Penobscot to Passamaquoddy. Mr. Sabine gives biographical sketches of many of them in his work. "The descendants of loyalists," he says, "who found shelter in the garrison at Castine, report that it was thronged with adherents to the crown and their families; and after the discomfiture of Salstonstall, they were left in undisturbed quiet during the remainder of the war."

MADAM WOOD, THE FIRST MAINE WRITER OF FICTION.

HER RESIDENCE IN PORTLAND IN THE EARLY PART OF THE CENTURY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 22, 1889.

BY WILLIAM GOOLD.

THE topmost ornament of this fine building, where the sessions of the Maine Historical Society are held, and for which it is indebted to the munificence of its president, is an emblematical statue of Literature. It therefore becomes us to make known the achievements of the earliest votaries of Literature in the state; not only in the department of history, but those of "most excellent fancy"—writers of entertaining fiction. I think the first who attempted this walk in literature in our state was Madam Wood. I will therefore trace her family, which has been one of the most noted in the old county of York, which when she was born comprised the then entire District of Maine.

The grandfather of Madam Wood was Jonathan Sayward. His grandfather came from England and settled in York. In an Indian attack, while he was absent at Cape Neddick, his wife and several children were murdered, and a little daughter was carried to Quebec. This was probably the attack of 1692 when the Rev. Shubael Dummer and seventy-five others were killed, and eighty-five of the inhabitants of York were taken captive. Forty years afterward Mr. Manuel Beal of York, a relative of the Saywards, visited Quebec on business, and being anxious to see the interior of a nunnery, he asked to visit, and was admitted to one. The lady abbess inquired of him where he was from, to which he answered, York. She told him that was her own birthplace—that she was Hannah Sayward; captured in her childhood, carried to Quebec and ransomed by a French lady. The lady educated her in a nunnery. Hannah continued in the insti-

tution and became a nun. Before her death the lady who rescued her from the Indians gave half her property to the nunnery, and the other half to Hannah, who in time became the lady abbess. To Mr. Beal she was very friendly. When he left for home, she sent sixteen small silver porringers by him, one for each of her nephews and nieces. Before his death, Judge Sayward purchased all of them and had them made into six larger ones. One of the porringers is still owned in York by a descendant.

The father of the murdered children married a second wife and had two more sons, Jeremiah and Jonathan. This Jonathan was the father of Judge Sayward, who in his time was one of the most noted men of the province. He was born in York, November 9, 1713, and died there in 1797. His wife was Sarah Mitchell, who died in 1775.

Jonathan Sayward at one time before the war of the Revolution, was, next to Sir William Pepperell, the richest man in Maine. He was an active merchant and man of all business. He had the confidence of his townsmen and was for seventeen years elected to the office of representative to the general court. He was judge of the court of common pleas and judge of probate for York county. These offices he held at the beginning of the revolutionary troubles. Judge Sayward refused to sign papers censuring the home government, which he had repeatedly taken an oath to support, and became unpopular among the people, but they had too much respect for him to drive him from his home. In his diary he wrote as follows:—

December 31, 1775.

I am now arrived at the close of the year, through the forbearance of God. It hath been a year of extraordinary trials. Aside from the death of my wife (the greatest of all), I have lost a new sloop cast away this month, and suffered the loss of one or more cargoes in the West Indies, and largely by the death of one and another. But this is small compared with the hazards I have had, and am still in, on account of my political sentiments and conduct. I have been confined upon honor not to absent myself from the town, and a bondsman, Jotham Moulton, Esq., often threatened; afraid to go abroad; have not been out of town for nine months through fear, though my business greatly required it. The loss of trade, the scorn of the abjects, slight of friends, continually on my guard; all of my offices, judge of probate, judge of the common pleas, justice of the quorum, justice of the peace, taken from me. In constant danger of being driven from my habitation; so much that I have con-

stantly kept £200 lawful in gold and paper currency in my pocket for fear of being suddenly removed from my abode. I have been examined before committees and obliged to lay open my letters from Governor Hutchinson, to swear to my private correspondence. All the above I have suffered from principle.

The same house where the judge was imprisoned is still standing, unaltered, with the same furnishings, and owned and occupied by one of his descendants. It would give one a better opinion of the sturdy old Loyalist to visit that house and see the expression of his countenance in his full length portrait, hanging on the wall. There are also portraits of his wife and daughter by Blackburn. These portraits were painted between 1750 and 1765, as Blackburn left Boston for England in the latter year. Judge Sayward was master of an armed transport sloop in the Louisburg expedition of 1745, and brought home many rich house furnishings from that city, including porcelain table ware of odd design, and fire sets of brass, that still occupy their position where they were placed in 1746.

The reason of my writing so much of Judge Sayward and his home is that in her grandfather's house Madam Wood was born, and here was her own home until her marriage.

Nathaniel Barrell, son of John Barrell, a prominent shipping merchant of Boston, was first a clerk in charge of Judge Sayward's store, and married his only child, Sally Sayward. During the excitement for volunteers to capture Quebec, Mr. Barrell accepted an ensign's commission, and was in the assault and capture of the city and was promoted to be captain for gallantry. After the fall of Quebec Mr. Barrell went to England, and was at the coronation of George III, in 1760. By this monarch he was appointed councilor for New Hampshire, and served at the council board at Portsmouth with both Governors Wentworth. He, too, adhered to his oath and became a Tory.

The subject of this memoir, Sally Sayward Barrell, was the daughter of Captain Nathaniel Barrell, and his wife Sally Sayward. She was born at the house of her grandfather Sayward in York, October 1, 1759, in the midst of the colonial rejoicings over the fall of Quebec, where her father was doing gallant duty. In time her parents had a family of eight children. Sally Barrell remained with her grandfather until she was eighteen years old. Judge Sayward had a clerk six months only older than the

grand-daughter, named Richard Keating, who had been a school-mate with Sally Barrell. It was the most natural occurrence in the world that these young people should form a mutual attachment. They were married November 23, 1778, during the Loyalist persecutions of which Judge Sayward so bitterly complains. Notwithstanding his losses, he felt able to build for his grand-daughter a fine house near his own for a wedding present, and adopted the new married pair as his own children.

The married life of the Keatings was a brief but very happy one. Both were young and of happy dispositions. Of their intellectual powers we only know of those of the wife. They were surrounded with friends and influential relatives, and enjoyed intercourse with the best families of York, Kittery and Portsmouth.

At that time the mansion of Sir William Pepperell at Kittery contained all the original portraits, furnishings and silver plate; just as the first baronet had left it at his death a few years before. In a manuscript of reminiscences written by Madam Wood, she describes the service of silver and the silver table on which it was displayed, which was presented to Sir William Pepperell by the city of London. She says, "I have seen it." This manuscript was sent to me from Baltimore by Father Waldron — the same who gave to our society the "Jesuit's strong box."

In the confiscation act of 1777, the Pepperell plate was allowed to be taken from the Kittery mansion, and transported by land under military guard to Boston, where an armed ship was waiting its arrival to take it to its owner, the second baronet, who was a refugee. Madam Wood describes the departure of Colonel Moulton, sheriff of York, with his squad of troopers for Boston with the plate. This was when she was seventeen years old. Her relatives were Loyalists, and of course she sympathized with the refugees.

I have described the state of society at York and Kittery during the war of the Revolution. These towns joined, and were the most populous of any in the State. The Sparhawk house at Kittery Point was a rendezvous of the Portsmouth and Kittery Tories. In the attic are still shown several small rooms which were the refuge of fugitive Loyalists. My own ancestors lived in the same town, and the description of the Tory gatherings at the Sparhawk house has been a tradition in our family.

Thus was life in York and Kittery during the first four years of Mrs. Keating's married life. Mrs. Keating's first child, a daughter, was born November 7, 1779; then another daughter. The husband, Mr. Keating, was robust and had every assurance of a long life, but after a short sickness he died of a fever in July, 1783, the year of the closing of the war, when he was hoping to retrieve his lost fortunes. Mr. Keating's death was a terrible blow to his wife. Their affection had been almost from childhood. Their only son, Richard Keating, was born four months after the death of his father. Fortunately for Mrs. Keating, God had endowed her with a cheerful spirit, ever looking on the bright side of life. She with her little family of two daughters and a son continued to live in her own house at York, over twenty-one years. It was these long years of widowhood which brought out our heroine's talent for authorship, and the incidents of the war, the traditions of her family, and occurrences under her own observation furnished subjects for her pen.

Her first work which has come to my knowledge is entitled "Ferdinand and Elmira: a Russian Story, by a lady of Massachusetts; author of Julia, the Speculator and Cornelia. Baltimore, Samuel Butler, 1804"—(311 pages). It seems by this title page that our author had written at least three books which had been published previously to this.

The year of the publication of "Ferdinand and Elmira," 1804, Mrs. Keating was married to General Abiel Wood of Wiscasset, a gentleman of wealth and a prominent citizen of the then District of Maine.

At the beginning of this century the only place of commercial importance east of Portland was Wiscasset. It was in fact the seaport of the Kennebec, and the market town of all that section of country now comprising the counties of Lincoln, Kennebec, Somerset, Franklin, Androscoggin and Sagadahoc. A coasting trade in small vessels was maintained, sailing between the Kennebec and Massachusetts towns, but all the exports to foreign countries entered the cross river at Bath and passed through a section of Sheepscot to Wiscasset. This with the other legitimate trade centering there, made Wiscasset the seat of a large export trade, carried on by enterprising merchants, who had a world wide reputation. Here Mrs. Wood enjoyed every comfort

that wealth and the best society could give; and, in the companionship of friends of refined manners and tastes similar to her own, continued her literary work more for amusement than profit.

In 1811 General Wood died, and a few years after Madam Wood removed to Portland; probably on account of her son, who had become a ship captain and was sailing out of this port. He married a Miss Emerson of York, a sister to the first mayor of Portland. She also had grand-children here. William T. Vaughan, the first clerk of the courts of Cumberland county after the separation from Massachusetts, married Madam Wood's second daughter, Miss Keating. She died, leaving two children. Mr. Vaughan's second wife also came from York.

While living in Portland, Madam Wood and her family occupied the western half of what is known as the Anderson house on the south side of Free street. She was always spoken of here as "Madam Wood," and was accorded the place of honor in all gatherings of the best society. She was always, owing to her peculiar style of dress, a conspicuous figure in public places. She was accustomed to wear the high turban or cap seen in the picture, and when she went out she wore a plain black bonnet so far forward as to nearly hide her features. Although Madam Wood was a communicant in the First Parish church under Doctor Nichols, she often attended the old brick church of St. Paul's, sitting in the Vaughan pew with her grand-children. My own seat was in one of the cross pews, facing Mr. Vaughan's, so that I can testify to the correctness of the portrait. Boys went to church in those days. This portrait is from a daguerreotype, which was taken probably in 1840, as the invention of sun-painting had then first come into use. The lady was then eighty-one years old. The small original picture was photographed and enlarged by Mr. King, within the last month.[1]

While Madam Wood was living in Portland, she continued her literary work. One at least of her books was published here. This is a copy of the title page: —

Tales of the Night. By a lady of Maine. Author of Julia; the Speculator; the Old Man's Story, EC. Portland, printed and published by Thomas Todd; 1827.

[1] This photographic painting may be seen by any visitor among the collections of the Maine Historical Society in its rooms in Portland.'

I recollect the issue of this book — it attracted much attention and had a ready sale. Madam Wood left some manuscript works which were never printed. She had now somewhat recovered confidence in her own ability. It is said that when the Waverly novels appeared, and she had read some of them, she was so dissatisfied with her own works that she gathered what she could of them and destroyed them.

Captain Keating, her son, was sailing a ship from the port of New York, and to be near his family, his mother concluded to go there with all her family. This was in 1829 or 1830.

In January, 1833, Captain Keating arrived in New York harbor and anchored in the stream, remaining on board. In the night, the current set the running ice against the ship with such force as to cut her through, and she sank at her anchor at once, carrying down all on board, including the captain; not one escaped. Madam Wood was now seventy-five years old. Although hers had been a life of vicissitudes, the loss of her last remaining child, an enterprising son, the stay and support of her declining years, was a severe shock to her. The following summer she had somewhat recovered from the blow. She concluded to return to Maine and spend her remaining years among her kindred. With a widowed grand-daughter, and a great-grandson, she came to Kennebunk. This great-grandson is now a leading physician of that town, Dr. Edward W. Morton. He is also grandson of the late Reuben Morton, an eminent shipping merchant of Portland, whose residence is now the Catholic school on Free street. Its grounds adjoin those of the house occupied by Madam Wood while in Portland.

In her last years Madam Wood continued to write at the request of her friends, papers of reminiscences, which from her great age and wonderful memory, were very valuable. The one already mentioned which I obtained from Baltimore was written for Mrs. Charles Cushing, who for many years occupied the Governor Wentworth mansion at Little Harbor near Portsmouth. At her death it went into the possession of Father Waldron, her relative, from whom I obtained it. The following is Madam Wood's reply to the request of Mrs. Cushing: —

It is so long since I have even thought of the persons and places you desire to be made acquainted with, my dear friend, that I had almost

forgotten their existence. It is true I have an old and rather a large volume that contains a variety of recollections, but it is very much defaced by time, many leaves torn out, many sentences obliterated, and others in as cramped a hand as I am now writing. But to gratify you, my dear friend, I will try to render a page of it legible; and if it will give you any pleasure I shall be amply repaid, and will ransack my memory to say something about Sir William Pepperell, too great a name to be forgotten by one unused to titles, unacquainted with wealth or grandeur.

At the end of her sketch of Sir William and his house, she thus closes:—

Thus, my dear friend, at last, as far as was in my power, I have complied with your request. Had the wish been expressed a few years ago I could have made out a tolerable narrative of my reminiscences. I could have taken Portsmouth, Kittery Point, and old York as the scenes of my early associations.

The most interesting of the reminiscences is that of a visit to "Long Lane" with her mother, when she was twelve years old [1770]. This was the home of Madam Ursula Cutts, the widow of John Cutts, the first president of New Hampshire. It is on the left bank of the Piscataqua, three or four miles above Portsmouth. "Madam Ursula" as she was called, was murdered in her own meadow where she had gone with a maid servant to carry refreshments to her men in the hay fields, when she and her haymakers were shot down and scalped. This was in 1694. At the time of Madam Wood's visit the place was owned by an old lady, a relative of her mother, who kept the place up in the original style. It is described as seen by her childish eyes in 1770. It is pleasant reading for an antiquarian.

Dr. Morton, in whose family Madam Wood spent her last years, says: "At the age of ninety-four she could be a delightful companion to her great great grandchildren, or to her nephews, George B. Emerson, or George B. Cheever, versed as they were in much of the science of the day." She died January 6, 1825, at the uncommon age of ninety-five years and three months.

ASHUR WARE.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 20, 1887.

By George F. Talbot.

Among the persons named as corporators in the act incorporating the Maine Historical Society is the name of Ashur Ware, who resided in Portland from the year 1817 to the year 1873, the time of his death. He was the first secretary of state of the new state of Maine. He was a tutor and afterward a professor in Harvard College. He edited a political paper in Boston, and afterward the "Eastern Argus" in Portland. He is best known as the judge of the United States District Court, having by his eminent talents, learning and integrity adorned that high position for the unusually long term of forty-four years, or from 1822 till 1866. He was an easy and graceful writer, equipped with accurate and comprehensive erudition, and possessing warm, benevolent and popular sympathies; and his felicitous style gives grace and dignity to some of the earlier publications of this Society to which he contributed. The "Introductory Remarks" at the beginning of the first volume of the Society's collections are from his pen, and are an exhibition of his powers of literary expression.

Judge Ware was born in Sherburne, Massachusetts, February 10, 1782, and was the third child of Joseph Ware and his wife Grace Cooledge.

His grandfather was John Ware, a descendant in the sixth degree from Robert Ware, who in 1640 emigrated from the eastern part of England, near Boston, to Dedham, Massachusetts, the first home in this country of the family.

Robert had espoused the Puritan cause with so much zeal as to make his emigration a matter of prudence, at a time when the fortunes of his party had suggested the same course to such leaders as Hampden and Cromwell. Of John Ware, who moved to Sherburne, Joseph, father of the judge, was the eldest, and Henry,

the eminent professor of divinity at Harvard, was the youngest son.

Joseph Ware was a conspicuous personage in his town, filling several municipal offices, and having the honor of having served as a soldier in the war of the Revolution, and of losing an arm in the battle of White Plains.

The personal traits of Judge Ware seem largely due to hereditary influence, and furnish a striking confirmation of the law of intellectual and moral descent; for in his early years his father Joseph Ware, the farmer of Sherburne, had a taste for literature and particularly for scientific culture. He had partially fitted himself for college, but for lack of means was compelled to forego his ambition for the career of a scholar. He never however lost his interest in mathematics, astronomy and philosophical studies, which he pursued from a genuine enthusiasm during such leisure as a working-man's life afforded. His mainly self-acquired education and his well-known probity gave him just consideration among his neighbors, and fitted him well for the many municipal offices he was called to fill. Sometimes he was employed as a teacher of the public schools, and in that employment he acquired a wide reputation for the thoroughness of his discipline and the excellence of his methods.

In the religious controversy that agitated New England in his day, and broke the unity of its faith, he took the liberal and more rationalistic side, cherishing, somewhat in advance, the reformatory and innovating ideas begotten of a more modern spirit.

Fathers are very apt to pass to their children their own unfulfilled ambitions; and Joseph Ware, though a poor farmer, was willing to make sacrifices to give his son the educational advantages that he had desired himself. He not only did this but he aided his own brother John in paying the collegiate expenses of their younger brother, Henry, and so in giving to the country that brilliant line of teachers, preachers, scholars and writers of which he was the ancestor.

It did not greatly grieve Joseph Ware to find that his third child showed little skill and less interest in the manual labor of the farm, and devoted to a greedy and appreciative reading of every book that came within his reach the nights and days that farmers' sons are usually called upon to give to the care of crops and

cattle. The judicious father recognized the better way his son had chosen, and was glad to see revived in him his own scholarly tastes and enthusiasm.

When this young son was fourteen years old, his inaptitude for a farmer's life, and his dominant taste for science had become so apparent to his father, that he gave him notice he should do what he could to send him to college. Many times in his after life in telling of the hardships and hopes of his youth, Judge Ware spoke of that day, when his father opened before him this door to his ambition, as the happiest of his life.

Ashur was fitted for college by private tuition partly by his father and partly by the minister of the town, Rev. Mr. Brown, and was entered at Harvard in the year 1800 in the same class with Doctor Chapin, president of Waterville College, Andrews Norton, the biblical critic, and other men of nearly equal celebrity. After graduating he was for a time an assistant to Doctor Abbot in his famous Exeter Academy. After that he was for a year a private tutor in the family of his uncle Henry in Cambridge. In 1807 he was appointed tutor in Greek, and from 1811 to 1815 he was a professor in the same department of study in Harvard College. Among the four or five hundred youths, who received instruction from him during this period, were Edward Everett, Peleg Sprague, the historians William H. Prescott, John G. Palfrey and George Bancroft, Presidents Sparks and Walker and Caleb Cushing.

Judge Ware resigned his professorship in 1815, and after hav, ing entertained the purpose of preparing himself for the pulpit abandoned it, and betook himself to the study of law, first in the office of Loammi Baldwin in Cambridge, and afterward with his classmate, Joseph E. Smith of Boston. He seemed, however, to have been better known in Boston as a politician and writer than as a practitioner absorbed in the interests of litigating clients, for, in company with Henry Orne, he edited there a democratic paper called the "Boston Yankee," and became the orator of his party for the Fourth of July, giving to his oration, according to the customs of the time, all the effective range and force, that a keen satire of the opposition, propelled by strong feeling and winged with brilliant rhetoric, could impart.

But he did not seem to have found in the chief city of his na-

tive state, and near the home of his distinguished family, a lucrative opening for his legal learning or for his editorial or forensic talents; for the very next year he moved to Portland, and entered with warmth into its more congenial politics — the chief doctrine of which then was the doctrine of *home rule.* He bought to Maine considerable reputation as a scholar, writer and orator, and was not long in finding ample scope for the exercise of his versatile abilities. He was at once placed in charge of the old democratic weekly, the "Argus," and as Mr. Willis says, "by his vigorous pen gave it a character which it had never attained before nor kept up after he left it." His abilities were recognized in his selection as orator for the due celebration of the Fourth of July, and his auditors must have noted that a higher than the customary standard of eloquence had been offered them in his graceful periods and in the wealth of his historic and classical allusions.

He plunged heartily into the pending controversy about separation for which the Portland people had been for years stoutly battling, and when at last, after many years, the boon of state independence was reluctantly conceded by the parent Commonwealth, the office of Secretary of State was fitly assigned to him. In the comparative rarity of highly educated men, and from the fact that the able first governor, King, had more reputation as a man of affairs and a natural ruler of men than of literary expertness, it has become manifest from some preserved correspondence that the first secretary, besides recording the statutes and engrossing the commissions, was called upon to put in decorous and devout language, fit to be read on Sunday from the pulpit, the Fast and Thanksgiving proclamations, by which the state continued to maintain some loose connection with the church.

For the second governor, Judge Parris, then judge of the United States District Court, was in 1822 elected; and to the bench made vacant by his resignation, Mr. Ware was appointed. The selection, though made, as in several instances in our state history, of a man without any judicial and very little professional experience, and of one whose reputation had been acquired in politics and partisan controversy wherein those dispassionate and candid mental processes which a judge must exercise are scarcely brought into requisition, proved to be an entirely fitting one.

Judge Ware presided over the court to which he had been appointed during a term exceptionally long in our judicial annals, steadily gaining from year to year the confidence and respect of practitioners and clients and of the public at large by his sound and comprehensive learning, by his absolute impartiality, and by the integrity and high rectitude of his personal sentiments.

It fell to the duty of the writer of this memoir, soon after the death of Judge Ware on the tenth of September, 1873, to announce that event to the court over which he had so long presided. I cannot in more fitting terms summarize the services and character of the eminent deceased than by quoting here some of the remarks that accompanied that announcement: —

A life like Judge Ware's, so happily and nobly lived, so rich in substantial if not conspicuous benefits conferred upon society, a mind so well endowed with intellectual and moral culture, is of historic value, and deserves commemoration in a fitting biography. I know the fact, that he had been often urged to lay the proper foundation for such a work, by furnishing personal memoranda of the leading incidents of his life. Late in his old age, he seems partially to have complied with such a request; but his life was a contemplative, rather than an active one, and having few changes or events personal to himself to record, his unique and characteristic history, as told by himself, gives us only the processes by which his mind was trained, the relation which he recognized as connecting himself with God and the universe, and the growth of opinions, mainly theological, which his contemplation and study had compelled him to adopt. The proprieties of this occasion will allow me only to speak briefly of the work he has done in the world, and the traits of mental and moral excellence developed in doing it.

He has given this description of his dominant mental passions: "I had always a love of knowledge. This I believe was innate and instinctive. It had its origin in a natural curiosity, and was wholly independent of the consequences that flowed from it." He had a quiet contempt for the prevalent taste among his competitors in scholarship, whose efforts seemed to be stimulated by the desire to obtain honors, and who had more thirst for the reputation and rewards of learning than they had for learning itself. He says, moreover:—

"My taste and inclination led me more to grave and solid studies, that improved the understanding, than to the lighter graces of polite letters. An important fact, or a principle which is a mere generalization of facts, had always more charms for me than a mere expression of happy elegance."

To the shaping and strengthening of his mind, metaphysical studies largely contributed; in relation to this he observes:—

"Nothing contributes so much to sharpen the mind, and nothing to discover the weakness of an adverse argument on any subject, nothing to make nice distinctions and just discriminations, nothing to detect as well as practice sophistry; to comprise the whole in one word, nothing so well teaches us the use of language, whether employed to express, or as it sometimes is, to conceal our meaning, as the study of metaphysics."

But although he recognized the value of these studies as discipline, he complained that the knowledge they furnished was uncertain, and that the modern mind, after all its efforts, had been baffled by the same uncertainties and the same limitations, that had arrested the researches of the ancient philosophers two thousand years ago. So he turned to mathematics as more attractive and solid ground, and in touching their fixed and certain data, laid his hand upon the laws and methods of the creation. To quote his own language:—

"If there be any merit in the essays I have written, either miscellaneous or professional, or in judicial opinions, in the selection and arrangement of the thought and matter, I have been more indebted to geometry than all other studies. I think I may safely say this, when one of the greatest men ever bred in America, great at the bar, great on the bench and great in political movements (though this was the less seen by the public), a man who would be, rather than seem great,—said that whatever merits his arguments at the bar might have had, they were all derived from Euclid; and juries, to whom these arguments were addressed, familiarly said of him that other advocates were plausible, but Parsons made a case plain and intelligible. I never studied a subject so well, or understood a science so thoroughly, as the elementary principles of geometery, and none of my juvenile studies had so deep and permanent an influence on my habits of mind."

For a mind, whose leading characteristic is a love of knowledge, free of the ambition of distinction, and the meaner ambition of reward, strengthened by the severe and abstract processes of metaphysical and mathematical studies, one career naturally opens itself. It will seek truth—not in the department of man's material and animal life, but in those higher relations, which subsist between man as a spirit, and the source from which he sprang, and the destiny to which he is to attain. So we are not surprised to hear Judge Ware confess, that favoring influences aided the natural bent of his genius, to invite him to enter upon the study of theology, and devote his life to the office of preaching. From this project, however, he was deterred by the perhaps unexpected results to which he arrived, in turning his scientific and severe methods of investigation, to the prevalent religious beliefs of his time. These results he perhaps wisely concluded would be a too great innovation upon the cherished convictions of the religious mind of New England, to justify him in publicly proclaiming them. He had no taste for controversy. Notoriety only annoyed him. A wise skepticism, rather than a dogmatic and arrogant assurance, and a thorough respect for the gen-

uine convictions of thinkers, who honestly differed from him, compelled him to turn away from his favorite studies, and to use them ever afterward as the recreations and solace of a life devoted to adjusting upon far lower grounds, the controversies of men as to their natural rights and obligations. While these opinions of his may have well seemed heretical in the narrow prejudice which held New England sixty years ago, the expanded thought of later times has comprehended and embraced them within the limits of a Christian charity and sympathy. For, after his severe and candid inquiry into the grounds of religious faith, his written confessions show that he held firmly to these conclusions: that the Universe proceeded from the hand of an intelligent Creator, who holds and governs it in the interests of justice and goodness; that man is amenable to the law of right, which is equivalent to the will of God, and is destined to an existence beyond his earthly life, where his condition will depend upon the fruits of virtue he has been able to gather from the good and evil influences, in the midst of which he had lived; and that Christianity, whose essence is the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the equality of men, and whose highest sanction of virtue is furnished in its most clearly stated doctrine of a future life, if not a supernatural and miraculous revelation, is a historical and providential development of the progressive religious attainment of man, the best, as it is the last fruit of his religious aspirations.

Turning regretfully away from these high subjects, literature seemed naturally open to him; but sixty years ago literature was not recognized in our country as a profession. His mind had been trained to dwell only in realities, to seek for truth more than for beauty, and to grasp substance rather than form. He disclaimed for himself ideality and a strong poetic fancy, and so what he called the "lighter and more ornamental graces of polite letters," had no attractions for him. In this too he must be considered to have judged himself too severely, for that very fondness for precise and unequivocal statement, that orderly and logical method, that candid appreciation of all adverse argument, supplied by his metaphysical and mathematical studies, aided as they were by familiar converse with the models of classic oratory and poetry, laid the foundation for a style of expression eloquent in its simplicity and perspicuity. The vividness of his personal and historical sketches, the clearness and picturesqueness of statement in his judicial reports of the facts and incidents upon which he bases his judgment, and the charm of language which, in his private conversation, often arrested the attention even of uneducated persons, showed that he had mental qualities that would have rendered him conspicuous in literature.

So, steadily and without regret or misgiving, he turned his well furnished mind to the study of law. An appointment, never more fittingly made, placed him upon the bench of this Court, in a position that exempted him permanently from the cares of getting a livelihood, and preserved his pure and unsophisticated character, from those intrigues and

ambitions, which work among our ablest public men such deplorable demoralization and deterioration. The field itself was sufficiently unpromising of anything but ease and obscurity. It was just the place for an indolent and superficial man to subside into routine and self-assumption. What Judge Ware has done in this field by putting genius and high intellect into his work, may now be seen in the published reports of his judgments,—important contributions to the splendid system of maritime jurisprudence, that regulates the commercial intercourse of civilized nations, and ever to be remembered as the best monuments of his fame.

The law of the sea he was called upon to pronounce, must be as liberal and comprehensive as its own compass and extent. The common law, whose maxims had been derived from the feudal system, a highly artificial and aristocratic form of society, would never serve to regulate and restrict a commerce, inviting the freest competition among the most daring and adventurous, nor could the codes or legal principles derived from the consent or custom of a single people, accommodate themselves to the notions of rectitude and fair-dealing, recognized by an international comity. It was left to the enlightened sense of justice, to determine the natural principles of law applicable to each case as it arose. Each court was put upon its conscience to pronounce a decree that should accord with the universally accredited sense of justice, or else it would nowhere be respected as the sentence of law. If local prejudice or patriotic feeling blinded its candor, it rightfully lost its authority.

At the time Judge Ware took his place upon the bench, the English precedents in admiralty were rare, and only partially applicable to this country, where we had given our admiralty courts a very liberal jurisdiction; and as to the precedents of other countries and treatises though the work of men of great genius and learning, it must be remembered how soon they would become obsolete, by the expansion and transformation of commerce, through the discovery of new countries, the production of new materials, the invention of more powerful forces of propulsion, and the new commercial usages, which would grow out of more frequent and rapid commercial intercommunication.

A capacious and well-poised mind to define, for new situations and new relations, the law of natural right, which should not only decide the case in controversy, but be an authority for like cases at home, and receive the respect and acquiescence of the courts of foreign nations, was what was required. For such an office, with such opportunities, the natural and acquired qualifications of Judge Ware were peculiarly adapted. The very taste that had inclined him to theological studies, made him a just and upright judge. The pure and ethical ideas, by which he had regulated his own life, the keen moral sense that defined in his soul so sharply the boundary between right and wrong, gave him a power of moral perception, able to detect under most plausible disguises, every form of oppression and fraud. His metaphysical disci-

pline enabled him to see the weakness of an adverse argument on any subject, to make nice distinctions and just discriminations, and to detect sophistry, and he had learned from geometry how to "select and arrange," in his judicial opinions, "the thought and the matter." When to this was added an elegance of style, derived from his classical and general reading, we can understand why the reports, which, when completed, will contain the judicial labors of his life, are everywhere held in such high estimation as authority by the courts, and as attractive to the professional and general scholar.

There was another mental trait which peculiarly fitted him to be the vindicator of the wrongs and oppressions of seamen. Few men have more heartily believed in the idea of the natural equality of men. He refused to assume any artificial dignity. It was with difficulty that he conformed to the prescribed etiquette and decorum of his own court It offended his simple tastes to assume any badge or drapery, or to take a place in any procession. He liked to come quietly and unheralded, and take his seat in court, clothed only in the natural dignity of his own character and intellect; and if his seat was raised above the level of his friends, the officers of the court and members of the bar, the exclusion and elevation seemed a constant annoyance to him. This democratic feeling crops out everywhere in what he has written. His comments upon history, though mainly dispassionate and critical, grow fervid with indignation at the oppressions and exactions which tyrants and rulers practiced upon the people; and his hearty attachment to Christianity seems largely due to its recognition of the brotherhood of man, and to the solace its high hopes offer to the sufferings and sorrows of the poor and down-trodden.

Assuming no artificial dignities for himself, he could not defer to any assumptions of rank among those to whom he dealt out justice. Different positions determined different scales of responsibility and duty, but these fairly considered, a man was a man, and below the rank and rights of a man he would never allow a human being to be placed, whatever might be his race or color, or however limited his intellect or education.

When at the end of a term of judicial service rare in the annals of any people, and unprecedented in ours, he resigned his high office, this bar assembled in this court to express a just appreciation of the long official service he had so ably performed. We are now assembled when the long life itself, so successful and happy beyond the common lot, is rounded to a measure of years seldom allotted to man, to do honor to his character and to give our testimony of his high worth, and to commend him as an example of rare excellence to the emulation of the generation of young men who are to succeed us. We may point to his, on the whole, happy old age, as a fit illustration of the noble language of Cicero:—

"*Aptissima omnino sunt arma senectutis artes exercitationes que virtutum, quæ in omni ætate cultæ, quum diu multumque vixeris mirficos-*

efferunt fructus, non solum quia nunquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore ætatis — quamquam id quidem maximum est — verum etiam quia conscientia bene actæ vitæ multorumque bene factorum recordatio jucundissima est."

Moses M. Butler, Esq., in offering on the same occasion the resolutions of the Cumberland bar spoke thus: —

The estimate which Judge Story put upon his judicial labors, when he said that he regarded Judge Ware as one of the ablest and most learned, if not the ablest and most learned, of the then living Admiralty lawyers, was concurred in by the voice of contemporary assent, and has been confirmed by the later judgment of the bar of this generation. Among the great lights, by which the paths of admiralty and maritime law have been illumined, his name will shine serene, — a star of the first magnitude. His recorded decisions, beautiful in structure, adorned with grace and resting on the solid foundations of principle, have raised an enduring monument to his fame. His service in the cause of enlightened jurisprudence has already conferred, and will continue to confer, so long as justice shall be dispensed, lasting benefits on mankind.

It was certainly not alone in professional learning that his attainments were remarkable. He cultivated almost the whole boundless field of human knowledge, metaphysics, theology, polite literature, the classics, modern languages, the sciences, mathematics. He was scholarly in all his tastes and habits. He was one of those deep, quiet, unobtrusive students, of which our country has more in number, I believe, than we get credit for across the Atlantic.

Any review of the life of Judge Ware would be incomplete without reference to him as a citizen and member of society. His participation — so far as was befitting his position — in the business enterprises of our city, his connection with our educational interests, his selection, at different periods of his life, as president of two different banking institutions, and as director in another, — his identification with the growth of the public improvements of the state, as early president of one of our leading railroad companies, — these attest at once that Judge Ware was no recluse, and the confidence which was reposed in him by the community.

He ever took a lively interest in public affairs. In early life, before his elevation to the bench, he wielded a most trenchant pen in the discussion of the important political questions of the day, and afterward throughout his judicial life, he never ceased to feel and manifest on proper occasions, his deep interest in all that pertained to the welfare of his beloved country, the state of his adoption and the city of his home. He was a good citizen, a pure patriot, a genuine lover of liberty, a true democrat, in the higher and nobler sense of the word.

Judge Webb, then United States District Attorney, said, among other things, in seconding the resolutions: —

I cannot but feel regret that I never enjoyed to any considerable extent his personal acquaintance, and am consequently unable, out of my own experience, to add anything to the tribute of affection for the man, contained in this expression of the bar. On every side are met those, who for many years associated with him on terms of friendly intimacy. All unite in their testimony to the kindness of his nature, his purity and simplicity of character, his accurate scholarship and extensive and varied attainments. Companionship with him they esteem among their most valued opportunities.

Those of us, who knew him only in his judicial relations, recognize the fruits of those traits of character, and of his thorough and various culture, in his official life and service.

Whoever studies the published opinions of Judge Ware will not fail to be impressed with the clearness of his intellectual perceptions, the precision and order of his statements, the rigor of his logic, the fullness of his research, the grace of his style, and his conscientious zeal to discern and to uphold truth and justice. These opinions are widely known and valued; they have been known and valued, and held in ever increasing honor since they were promulgated.

It is not easy for us, who have pursued our researches in those branches of law in which he was so illustrious, to measure the sum of our obligation to his labors under the guidance of which we walk. Neither is the toil of those, who have come after him, and walk in the paths he has cleared, to be compared with his task in making those paths plain and easy.

While he diligently devoted his powers to those pursuits appropriate to his position as a judge, he never lost his relish for the studies of his earlier years, but throughout his long life, found leisure to gratify his love of literature and science. He ever turned with delight to the classics, of which, in his prime, he had been a critical student and an ardent lover. He did not therefore become indifferent to the interests of his own days, but was a constant and thoughtful observer of men and events, often with his pen giving important counsel and assistance in securing a wise direction to affairs.

The venerable John Mussey his contemporary, and for many years the Clerk in the courts over which the Judge had presided, gave this tribute to the value and importance of his judicial work: —

When he took the bench of the United States district court of Maine, in 1822, the rights and duties of seamen, the authority and responsibility of officers and owners of our merchant marine, were alike in great measure unknown and unrecognized by both the employers and employés. The clear head of the Judge soon evinced the determination and ability to bring order out of confusion and misconception. At first, many of his rulings clashed with the prejudices of owners and masters, but as

case after case came before him, the mists of prejudice and shortsightedness lifted and dispersed. Soon those of the community interested looked up to him in confidence, that good common sense — a just appreciation of their needs, would be furnished by Judge Ware as opportunity offered, and they were not disappointed. The most violent opponents to his teachings gave way, and all felt, if they did not acknowledge the fact, that he was truly a public benefactor; that law as delivered by him was sound, reasonable, well-grounded, and would stand the severest scrutiny; and so it proved to be, by the voluntary acknowledgment of many eminent jurists in the Union.

Judge Fox in responding to the resolutions said among other things: —

Judge Ware's literary acquirements were second to no man's in this district. He was conversant with the Greek and Latin, as well as with the French languages, and could thus investigate and examine for himself their authorities without depending on the assistance of others. His extensive acquaintance with the Roman law and the various French writers on commercial and admiralty law, is manifest in almost every one of his opinions, which we now possess. He most thoroughly enjoyed the investigation of questions of admiralty and maritime law, making the most diligent search and examination among the rules and sea laws of the ancient marts of commerce, and he pursued his studies and explorations until he was complete master of the subject, so that nothing remained for him but to present his conclusions in that clear and beautiful manner which is so distinguishing a characteristic of all his opinions, and in which he has never been surpassed, either at home or abroad. Quite often his opinion was not restricted to a mere determination of the rights of the parties in the cause, but, conscious of the importance of his labors, and of the benefit to be derived from the knowledge he would thus impart, he made his opinion a most elaborate and finished exposition of the great principles of admiralty and maritime law involved in the matter in controversy, in relation to which, at that time, the entire profession was almost universally ignorant. So complete and thorough were his examinations, so convincing his judgments, that in many cases since his time, the most learned and eminent jurists have referred to them as conclusive authority on the questions he so well investigated, being convinced that their own researches would shed no new light upon a matter which had received the careful and diligent investigation of Judge Ware. His written opinions were deemed so valuable, both to the public and the profession, that they were generally made public through the press immediately on their announcement, and they at once were accorded by the entire profession, the very front rank in admirality and maritime jurisprudence. In the year 1839, the first volume of his reports was published, followed by a second in 1849, and the demand for these works has been so great as to require a second edition of each of them.

To his personal character Judge Fox paid this merited tribute:

Judge Ware was of marked simplicity of character, and was always actuated by entire singleness of heart and purpose. The kindest and most friendly relations ever existed between him and the members of this bar. His intercourse with us was ever free and informal, never in the least pretentious; and it always was a pleasure to him, to assist us by his advice in relation to his own decisions, as well as to principles of law upon which we desired information; and I have very frequently in this manner received from him most valuable assistance which it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to have procured from any other source. He had no favorites. Every one who appeared in his court, whether young or old, was certain that all stood on an equality in his presence. With courtesy and the greatest patience he listened to the views which counsel saw fit to present, the manifest purpose of the judge being to obtain light, to aid him in his determination of the cause without regard to the source whence it was derived. No one ever took part in a trial before the judge, without becoming attracted to him, and feeling the highest respect for him, as well for the kindness of heart ever exhibited to whatever counsel a party might select to advocate his rights, as for his diligent attention, for his acute wisdom and judgment, and the learning and research manifested in his elaborate opinions.

Besides his published judicial opinions, models at once of learning and style, were many fugitive contributions to political journals. Judge Ware also furnished several articles to "Bouveir's Law Dictionary" upon legal subjects. He delivered the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Brunswick, in 1827, which was published and greatly admired.

He married in 1831, Sarah Morgridge, whom, though much younger than himself, he survived. He left three children, Joseph, a lawyer, residing last in Washington, D. C., now deceased, and two daughters, Emma, and Sarah, now Mrs. Mackay, residing in Europe with her husband.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Evening Session, December 23, 1882.

In the evening the hall of the Society was well filled by the friends and admirers of Professor Alpheus Spring Packard, who had assembled to do him honor on his eighty-fourth birthday, and a little later he entered, accompanied by Hon. J. W. Bradbury and E. H. Elwell, Esq., and was enthusiastically received. All present gladly noted his vigorous walk, erect carriage and wonderful freedom from decrepitude.

The meeting was called to order by Hon. J. W. Bradbury, President of the Society, who spoke as follows: —

MR. BRADBURY'S REMARKS.

Members of the Historical Society: —

We have assembled this evening to testify our regard for, and tender our congratulations to, a revered associate, the oldest living member of our Society, for many years its secretary and librarian, and always devoted to its interests, who has by the favor of a kind Providence reached in almost unabated vigor his fourscore and four years, sixty-four of which have been given, without interruption, to the noble occupation of teacher in the oldest and most distinguished college in our State.

The great Roman orator, after filling the highest positions at the bar, in the forum and in the councils of the nation, and enjoying a life-long experience in these exalted stations, took occasion to leave on record, in one of the most carefully considered productions of his pen, his estimate of the services of the teacher.

"It is certain," he says, "there cannot be a more important or a more honorable occupation than to train the rising generation, and instruct them in the duties to which they may be hereafter called."

The most illustrious philosophers whose names have come down to us from antiquity spent much of their time in instructing the young in reasoning, knowledge and virtue. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were teachers. Nearly five centuries before the Christian era, Socrates had his pupils who attended daily upon his instruction, and he deemed it the most solid reward to form a virtuous character, and make his pupils his affectionate friends. Plato, one of his disciples, attained to such excellence that it was said of him by Cicero, that were Jupiter to converse in the language of men he would express himself in Plato's

phrase. Aristotle, Plato's most illustrious pupil, who ruled the intellectual world for centuries, was a teacher for many years in the Lyceum, and Alexander the Great owed his education to him.

Our respected and revered associate has made his life a grand success in devoting it to this noble calling. Dr. Packard has been so long identified with Bowdoin College that his history is largely that of the college itself. He entered it as a student in 1812, was graduated in 1816, elected tutor in 1819, a professor in 1825, and has continued uninterruptedly a member of the faculty of instruction to the present time. The first class was graduated in 1806, only six years prior to his entry, and of nineteen hundred and ninety-four graduates from this institution, whose names are upon the catalogue (not including our twelve hundred and fifty medical students, many of whom have done honor to the State), to which are to be added those who did not complete their college course, all save one hundred and twelve, making more than nineteen hundred young men, have gone forth from these classic halls, after sharing his instruction. How many have been aided and strengthened in their preparation for the great battle of life by his teaching, counsels and example.

I am aware of the instinctive delicacy that shrinks from any personal allusion, but our respected friend must permit me to say, as one of the number, in behalf of the rest as well as of myself, that we always found in him the faithful teacher, the kind friend, the Christian gentleman, who pointed out the path of duty and showed us how to walk therein, and that on leaving our Alma Mater we carried with us and have ever cherished for him sentiments of affection and regard. Teacher of teachers, long may he be spared, by his words and his life to instruct and to guide, realizing that the work he has begun is going forward, that his influence will continue to extend in an increasing circle after all who have listened to his voice shall have passed away.

I will no longer delay you, as it is to others you will have the pleasure of listening. It is enough to have deserved the encomium of our own illustrious poet,

> Honor and reverence, and good repute
> That follows faithful service as its fruit,
> Be unto him, whom living we salute.

At the conclusion of Mr. Bradbury's remarks, James Phinney Baxter, Esq., read a poem, written by him for the occasion, as follows: —

GREETING TO THE MENTOR.

> Hail, Sage revered! all hail! We, poor of speech,
> Greet thee, O Mentor of our laureate!
> Though hardly may our voices overreach
> A day's brief space, our love for thee is great;
> For, in the way which led to Fame's fair gate,
> Thou wert the first to set his feet untried;
> The first his youthful steps to guard and guide.

It was but yesterday we crowned him here
With leaves he cherished more than leaves of bay;
Since they had grown within the woods so dear
To his lost youth, when all the future lay
In blade and bud, fair as a field in May;
Not hinting of the sheaves so dry and sere,
Experience soon must reap with many a tear.

We greet thee from our hearts: yet, well we know
Not as the Master skilled in speech would greet
His well-loved Mentor, were he here, but now,
To look upon thy face, and voice each beat
Of our full hearts; for on our lips no heat
Hath any coal from Song's high altar shed,
Nor through our veins the inspiring ichor sped.

But, gentle teacher, though we may not bring
To thee the tribute of inspiréd song;
We fain would cheer thee with such words as spring
To verbal life and dissonantly throng
On our rude lips; so, as we halt along,
An antique story we to thee will tell
Of one who in great Athens once might dwell.

Upon a golden Summer's afternoon,
When birds trilled in the hedges, and the bees
Hummed to the drowsy flowers one changeless tune,
A man of aspect grave, like one who sees,
Or strives to see, things men call mysteries,
Walked toward the Agora with troubled face,
As he would solve a riddle hard to trace.

Into the Agora, this moody wight
Wandered like one distraught, what time the crowd
Thronged toward the Pnyx, to catch, if so they might,
Some drops of wisdom from the surcharged cloud
Of eloquence, which soon would burst aloud
From the impassioned lips of Pericles,
Pride of a day, he swayed with Jovean ease.

He heard the plaudits of the throng, and saw
Their idol stalk along with helmèd head;
As was his wont in time of peace or war;
Yet went not with them; but in silence fed
Upon his thoughts, until his feet were led
Where the grand Stoa of Basileius frowned,
With statues of immortal heroes crowned.

He passed the Eleutherius, where the art
Of that bright age had limned for all to see
Such things as stir within the human heart
Heroic chords, yet cried he bitterly,
These, who so grandly wrought, were but like me,
Yet, now, they are as gods in all men's eyes,
Like that man in the Pnyx who thunders lies.

The temple of Apollo passed he by,—
The Tholus,—Aphrodite's temple fair,—
And drew the altar of the gods anigh,
Where heroes, glorious beyond compare,
In marble seemed to breathe the common air.
On these he fixed awhile his eager gaze,
Muttering his thoughts like one in sore amaze.

"These men once walked like me the sluggish Earth,
Felt, thought, loved, hated, laughed and wept like me,
Yet reign now as the gods above the dearth
Of dread oblivion, whilst I, seeming free,
Go with the human flock, which stupidly
Trots to the shambles of forgetfulness,
Without a luring bait or smooth caress.

"It shall not be! I, too, will climb the height
Where Fame's high house forever brightly beams,
And stand amidst the great ones, though I blight
The hopes of lesser men. No more of dreams!
No more of struggling with what only seems!
For I will carve a way to Fame's high seat,
Through weal and woe; through triumph and defeat."

So, casting off his troubled look, he strode,
Like one who hath awaked from some strange spell,
Toward the Acropolis, while past him flowed
The reflux tide of men with mighty swell
Into the market place,—and, when night fell,
Crouching a statue's creeping shade within,
He planned the course to-morrow should begin.

About the Virgin's chamber, Artemis
From her white crescent shed a chilling light;
And one by one the listening ear would miss
A wonted sound, until the waning night
Lapsed into such deep silence, that a flight
Of heavenly wings had not seemed strange to hear,
Nor sight of ghostly face awakened fear.

When, suddenly before the musing wight
All intervening things dissolved in air;
And beamed in splendor to his dazzled sight
The statue of Athena passing fair,
A stylus blazing like a star she bare,
And on a tablet was about to write
The names which Fame had bruited left and right.

Then came a wondrous vision of the kings,
Who once had swayed the world, in rich array,—
Purple and scarlet; gems and golden rings;
They glittered past him in a pageant gay
Glorious to look upon with eyes of clay.
"Surely these mighty ones must at the head
Of great Athena's list be placed," he said.

But, looking on them with sad, searching eye,
She shook her head and murmured, "Ah! not these,
Whom the gods set o'er men, that they through wise
And godlike acts, might lift them through degrees
Of growth to nobler living; for to please
Their baser selves, they scorned the common weal
And crushed men with Oppression's cruel heel."

So passed Earth's rulers; and each august name
She wrote far down upon the eternal page;
When lo! another splendid vision came
In warlike guise, great heroes, who the gage
Oft at Death's feet had cast in noble rage,—
All who through strife Fame had exalted high,
Swept, even like the gods, triumphant by.

"Ah!" cried the dreamer, "Here my lot I cast
With these triumphant ones, whose deeds of might
Dazzled the world:" but, as they proudly passed,
He saw the wise Athena sadly write
Their names low down the page in lines of light,
And, writing, said, "Great opportunities
To serve their fellows the gods gave to these.

"'Twas theirs the rights of weaker men to guard,
And, by preserving peace, promote their weal,
But the gods' purposes they proudly marred
And, fostering strife, bound nations to the wheel
Of wasting war, with chains more strong than steel,
That they might feast upon that joy unknown
To men whom noisy Fame forgets to own."

So passed the proud host by — and then there came
Another throng, in garb of somber hue;
Great orators and others who might frame
The nations' laws, and others still, who knew
The art of politics, and what best drew
The popular applause,— Men who with words
Had ruled the State even more than kings with swords.

Sadly Athena looked on them and said,
"Surely these might have sought the people's good,
Seeing their walks near Wisdom's highway led
Where Justice ever in the vista stood;
But with eyes closed to human brotherhood,
They forged more fatal fetters for their kind,
Than ever cunning smiths for kings designed."

And these went by — when suddenly appeared
Another band of folk in motley guise;—
Priests of all faiths which human hopes had reared,
With minds in fixed molds cast — of men most wise
In self conceit, who seemed with owlish eyes
Ever to see best in obscurity
Things which forsooth in dreams might only be.

On these the goddess sternly looked and cried,
"Ah! wretched ones, who held the charmèd keys
To human hearts, where joy and grief may bide;
To you were godlike opportunities,
For ye had lifted, had ye willed, with ease
From many men bent low with grief and care
The burdens which they found o'er hard to bear.

"And, yet, ye would not lift a feather's weight,
But to confirm your rule, shut out the light
Which would have glorified their drear estate;
Ye bore yourselves as gods in their poor sight,
Taking their reverence as a thing but slight,
Yet feasting on it with a secret joy,
As on a thing whose sweetness could not cloy.

Hardly had passed from view the stately train,
When came of folk a busy, buzzing crew;—
The merchants of the world — princes of gain —
Who even from tyrants oft a tribute drew;—
Their flags on many waters proudly flew,
And their rich caravans strange lands had crossed,
Or scourged by tropic heat or arctic frost.

Then cried the dreamer, "These all men must hold
As benefactors." "Nay," Athena cried,
"They might have been, had not the glare of gold
Blinded their sight and turned them quite aside,
So that the rights of men, in their blind pride
They trampled under feet, and held it right
To measure virtue even by rule of might."

Now, hardly had she finished, when appeared
Another throng — All who might teach mankind
Through any art or craft: — teachers revered —
Of every school wherin the immortal mind
Might be led forth from crookéd paths and blind,
To broader fields of thought, where clear and bright
Truth could shine forth with unobstructed light.

Then cried Athena, "Lo! the world's great souls,
Who through self abnegation ever strove
To reach the altars where the quenchless coals
Of truth burn bright beneath the eye of Jove;
They toiled to break the bonds which ignorance wove
Round human souls, that they like us might be
As the Supreme designed, forever free."

And so the names of these did she impress
Above all others on the tablets bright,
Which in the treasure-house of changelessness
Should be laid up before the Immortals' sight,
So long as stars should sing on paths of light,—
Ending her task just as a line of gray
Along the horizon marked the coming day.

The dreamer saw the heavens begin to glow,
And heard the wakening birds begin to trill,
And felt the cool breath of the morning blow
From the blue bay beneath, — serene and still,
He saw the empty streets begin to fill
With men who lived to taste the bliss which lay
Within the sweet clasp of another day.

Then he arose, and to his house must go
With downcast eyes; but they remembered long
Who passed him, how his face was all aglow,
And, ever after, with the humble throng
Of teachers walked he wisely, hating wrong: —
Counting all sacrifice of self but gain,
If men thereby might some small good attain.

The statues of Fame's idols are no more,
Athens hath perished; but men still hold dear
Great Plato's patient teacher — him who bore
The name of Socrates. And they shall hear
With reverence his name, when men once near
The gods in grandeur — kings of glorious strain —
The memory of man shall not retain.

So ends the tale, O faithful Teacher! thou
Who art of these august ones! and, though Fame
May twine no transient laurel for thy brow,
Still, Heaven's eternal page shall bear thy name
In changeless characters beyond the flame
Of Time's devouring torch; for thou art one
Whose work the world must say hath been well done.

'Twas said of Socrates, and still is said
Of that great teacher, more revered than when
The streets of Athens bare-foot he would tread,
"He taught the greatest souls — of widest ken —
A Xenophon and Plato;" but of men
He led none wisdomward more truly great,
Than thou hast led through Learning's golden gate.

After the poem had been read, Gen. J. L. Chamberlain was introduced by the President, and, despite a severe cold, from which he was evidently suffering, spoke as follows: —

GEN. CHAMBERLAIN'S REMARKS.

We have gathered here tonight as for a coronation. We come to mingle our tributes with the honors which life has laid upon the head of this chosen man, the scholar of eighty years, since the laws of the land have declared him such, the citizen who has completed four majorities, the teacher of three generations, the senior member of this Society by nearly a score of years, and for more than half a century an efficient member of it, — and still a man among us, erect and firm, his eye not dim, nor his natural force abated.

We have come to mingle our thankfulness with his; to congratulate him on the long life which from ancient times has been held a meed of honor, and a career singularly happy in the continued ability of useful service, a blessing which even Moses, the man who had talked with God, dared not vouchsafe to fourscore years; to congratulate ourselves that he has so long stood before us, bearing with him the treasures of the departed years, and that he stands with us still ready to step with us into the new year, and lead onward and upward as ever. We come to recognize how graciously on yester eve God set upon his brow that

many-wreathed, rare crown, wrought by the golden circuit of the sun, and to renew our pledges of loyal love to one we acknowledge as teacher and master still.

I almost fear that our venerated friend dreads the ordeal of this evening. There are some fates befalling this mortal lot, from which he might well have deemed himself exempt.

Never having aspired to what is called the "public service," he might reasonably hope to escape biography by vivisection. It is reserved for the political candidate to see his history spread out before him, with an amplification of fact and inference, and an imputation of motive, not calculated for the sanctification or edification of any but the genius of journalism, and it is sometimes among the deaths the soldier has to die, to have occasionally thrust in his face his obituary of humiliating brevity.

My service must be no task. And yet I approach it with some misgiving. Mere congratulation would seem to you too little; simple justice would seem to him too much.

Far distant be the day when any one standing here shall be able without restraint, to portray this character and service. And may this presence which inspires, long check our eulogies.

The thoughts of many here, perhaps, go with our friend over wider years than mine. You, Mr. President, must have known him years before my little star woke hitherward from the unknown. But none here, or alas, elsewhere now, on earth, have been longer associated with him in the work of life.

He was early called into that circle of men who made Bowdoin College a power from the very beginning; so that she seemed to have sprung, Athena-like, full-panoplied from the brain of Jove; armor and shield; betokening not simply strength and skill, but courage, prudence, perseverance, "presage of victory;" men who not only were themselves distinguished for what is excellent in character and achievement, but also, through this and something more than this, a certain unselfish loyalty and heroic devotion, gave the college from the outset a singular and unexampled prestige. What those men were, and what they did, and what they sent forth, the world knows and honors. The fountains were few, but they were high up on Helicon.

In science, philosophy, language, literature, eloquence, poetry, how readily can you supply the names that stand doubly stelligerent, dead but immortal, on Bowdoin's page! They were great men, and they made the college great. And their greatness was not limited to ability and learning, worthy as these were; it filled a larger, the moral mold; it shone out of the man himself; it was greatness in motive, purpose, character.

The influence of great men, I think, has not been duly recognized. The prevailing notion of evolution, heredity and natural selection, have turned our thoughts aside from what a scientific observation ought

to have made clear, the large extent to which the world's advance has been due, to its rare and choice souls; those who from their lofty and lonely heights, survey with wider vision the horizon of nature and of truth and communicate to man the secrets of the universe; those who placing the center of their thought outside of self, have enlarged the consciousness of human worth by their high example of the possibilities of human virtue; and with the spirit of self-renunciation, almost divinely beautiful, have uplifted life and broadened brotherhood, by showing the use of sacrifice; and the good of doing for men by even dying for them.

There are those who teach us that great men are but the creatures of the society within which they live and move; or, that were these men never born, society would evolve some other exponents, some other leaders, to carry it forward to its goals; but the truth only is that society furnishes the material, the conditions, the occasion and the stimulus, which summon the master spirit to his work.

The need of society calls such spirits; they answer from far off depths and heights. The universal consciousness of men has felt this; and ancient myth and legend do not derive from evolution and circumstance the birth of heroes, but they ascribe even a divine origin to the leaders and saviors of men.

Now here in this little college there were great men. I call them so with well-grounded reasons — great in word and work, great in humility and self-sacrifice, large-hearted, noble-minded; they were not the creatures, but the creators of Bowdoin's early renown. Their character, their teachings, their example, were an inspiration to the young men who gathered around them. No doubt their habit of resisting all other calls, and standing fast at their appointed posts, gave them an added strength, both of character and of influence.

I think it not so strange a thing that so many men of shining mark graduated at this college during its first half-century. It was not by chance. Rare spirits were quickened by such intercourse to know themselves, and they grew amidst such nutriment, to their own true measure; — not to be like their masters, but to be masters of themselves.

I do not wonder that the graduates of these early days cling to the college as it was. Those fountains of influence seem to nourish the very roots of their being still.

"Influence is not government," said Washington, when some one advised the effort to win the strong men of the country to supply by good-will the lack of a vigorous executive in carrying forward the resolutions of a loosely organized Congress. He uttered a lesson dearly learned in war. Influence is not government; but influence is education.

Daily and close contact with men of large thought and generous impulse, loyal to truth and faithful to trusts, patient, humble, constant and sincere, must shed sunshine and all sweet nourishments into the

youthful spirit. The great and good example cannot fail to inform and inspire the generous germs of noble endeavor.

It is claimed to be one advantage of small colleges over great ones, that in them the young men are brought more into contact with men of mature mind and experience of life. If at the same time they have kept the youthful heart alive in them, we can readily see how great an educating influence they can exert over the forming mind.

Such have been, especially in the earlier years, the advantages of Bowdoin. Such have been the characteristics of the traditional and distinctive Bowdoin Faculties. Such certainly were the men of whom our venerated friend was early thought worthy to be made the compeer. I make no hesitation in saying it was, as it still is, an honor to be called into that Faculty. The ablest men in the state and in the old mother state of Massachusetts have not thought it beneath their dignity to serve on the boards of trust and oversight, and to give earnest and thorough attention to all the interests of the college. To have passed favorably their scrutiny cannot be held as less than election to office of high trust and honor. To be a member of that Faculty certainly affords the means and stimulus to the best personal growth, and to a useful and faithful life. All this our friend has found it and has made it.

It is now twenty-seven years since, scarcely more than a boy, I was brought into that great companionship, as a member of that grand old faculty. Woods, Cleaveland, Packard, Smyth, Upham! do these names need to be set in any other light than that they themselves have shed?

At about the same time came in two others, older in college standing, if not in years, than I; worthy guides to lead the neophyte to that august presence; men who have since then, if they had not indeed already then, vindicated the judgment that had called them to this honored station, — Egbert Smyth and Carroll Everett. Were they not also of the fore-ordained?

I see them now, in that little study of Prof. Cleaveland, which our friend, Mr. Chandler, with filial reverence, has kept in its quaint old fashion. There sat the old faculty, each in his accustomed place. Cleaveland by his long desk, with his back to the room, recorder and regulator, class-lists and pencil in hand, waiting the hour, and minute and second, when business ought to begin; Upham, on his right and rear, a late comer, and loving a shady corner, his eyes often screened, unseen, but seeing all; at the round table in the center, Woods, and Symth, and Packard, the three angles of a triangle, not unlikely to resolve themselves into two right angles at short notice: not thinking of self, but of duty, taking the front simply and naturally, without fear; champions, defenders of the faith, both by nature and by grace. Farther off, near the door, we, the younger, silent, unspurred squires, awed lookers-on.

All of these we looked up to were famous men; each of them had written a book; each of them had his own clear, if not sharp character-

istics, his well-settled and well-rounded individuality, and the strength of strong convictions.

I see I have been drawn to words that savor somewhat of military suggestion. That cast of phrase was inevitable, irresistible. Anything else would have missed something of truth. They were born soldiers, these men, and would have been corps commanders in the field. Others have portrayed these characters in other lines; pardon me for viewing them as they struck my youthful imagination, not changed by mature experience.

If for the sake of illustrating by the familiar example, I may compare them with strong characters in our history, I should say the President was the McClellan of my field of vision,— cultured, chivalrous, master of strategy, skillful in organization; of wonderful fascination, so that the sight or name of him would rouse enthusiasm; not liking the tactics of the straight delivered blow that hurts, and the ruthless, onward charge that follows sharp; working with brain rather than brute force; by masterly disposition, delicate and swift flank movements; rather relying on the moral effect of movement that overawes the mind, than on the ordeal of battle to the bloody and bitter end.

Smyth, the Phil Sheridan, seeing one thing at a time, the point straight ahead, and making for it with a physical force that seems to transcend even the moral, and with a defiance of the rules of war and a recklessness of the laws of probabilities, which astonish the enemy into surrender before they can come to their senses.

Packard — he can scarcely pardon me — the Stonewall Jackson (not of history, let me comfort him by the saving clause, but only of my airy vision); what he would have been had he taken the field in a great cause. First, praying earnestly to know the right, and when he saw it, or believed he did, in, once in, and once for all; no after questionings, no misgivings, no half disarming concessions of ill-timed candor, no futile acknowledgments of possible failings in his friends, or virtue in his foes; faithful, watchful, tireless, and, in the decisive moment, sharp as a two-edged sword of flame.

Upham; to whom can I compare him? Commandant of the corps of observation; general officer of outposts; skirting the enemy's rear, destroying the enemy "in detail;" doing unheard of things on the skirmish line, and appearing suddenly, to the astonishment of friend and foe alike, in times and places least expected.

Cleaveland, the Grant of the campaign; silent, intent, dogged; minding his own business and making other people mind theirs; keeping out of a fight until it is time to go in; tenacious of his purpose without being over-concerned about the cost; lavish of his means, but sure of his ends. I make this only as a fancy picture; potential history. Yet in truth it is something more than fancy. There were stirring questions up in those days,— questions of interior discipline,— questions, too, of the general policy of the college, and even of its funda-

mental character in a religious or denominational point of view. Where wise measures of government were vital to the well-being of the college, and especially where principles held sacred were at stake, with men so earnest and so able, there were sure to be field days of no common order. But the flag of chivalry was in the front: "Gentlemen of the English Guard, we have the honor to offer you the first fire," said the French marshal, hat in hand, and with profound salutation. Nothing less here; one may be sure of that. The question is opened. Then begins that marvelous sword-play: That Saladin scimetar, soft seeming as a thing of air, that drew so keenly through the finest woven web of argument, that only the two ends of it floating apart and away, told that it had been cut asunder. Then the massive two-handed blade of Cœur de Lion,— the honest uplifted arms reckless however much they might expose to side assault, but where the front blow fell, no mace of steel could hold together, nor mortal man need another stroke. Yet if it was a school of arms, it was a school of honor. No treacheries, no underminings, no back-bitings. Differ as those men might in premise and argument, in the conclusion they stood together. Seen, perhaps, in a faculty meeting, by an outsider, through Professor Cleaveland's gimlet-hole and prism in the window shutter, those seven men might exhibit all the colors of the spectrum; but out under the open sky they were the clear and solid beam.

I think the life of a professor in Bowdoin College is a very pleasant one. It is honorable: it is useful: and what does not by any means always follow from these considerations,— it is a happy life, or should be so. Removed from turmoil, and undue solicitude, the professors are free to be men among men, in all noble work. They are appreciated; they are sustained; their work tells; its fruits ripen under their eyes. Their larger reward is in the hearts and lives of grateful pupils the whole world over. I trust our dear friend has found it so. He has found it so. He has spent here already sixty-three of his consecutive years; and here for many more we hope he may be spared, with heart as fresh as ever,—more honored, more dear, more useful still, as the years of life grow full. He has known, I believe, every graduate of the college: few are living who have not been his pupils. Up through stages of honor he has passed; teacher of the humanities, advanced now, by fitting climax, to the divinities. In early and middle life our Cicero and our Quinctilian. Faithfully fulfilling now his latest and highest office,— religious teacher, college pastor, professor of the evidences of that Christianity of which his own life is no uncertain evidence, and of which in his deepest consciousness he bears a surer witness still.

He has seen at least four sets of colleagues sit beside him; the present ones no less than the former rise up to call him blessed, and so doing receive blessing in return.

How faithful a servant of this Society he has been, who of you does not

gladly testify? Nay does not this spontaneous and grateful service itself bear witness? Well may he be honored here: he has known history: he has kept history: he has made history: and in a large, though he would call it a humble sense, he will live in history.

It is not because he has lived long that we honor him; but let me recall that utterance, for is there not in this too a witness and reward of right living? Is there not in the life that scarcely knows of sickness, and resists decay, some pure invigorating principle! Some sweet embalmment of the living body, that hints how it may be immortal? But we honor him for what he has done, and for what he is, and will ever be.

Those who have known him longest and best have seen a change coming over him; not of age, but of ripening and enrichment in tone and look. He seems to stand on heights, where he catches, and sheds a larger light. In the chapel service his prayers of late seem sometimes almost to draw us up to the very Mount where no mortal but the bidden dare approach.

As our eyes follow this venerated form, we cannot content ourselves with the common figure of one descending into the vale of years; our thought is rather of one ascending the heights of life; lifted more and more into the sun-lit glow. We are in the vale, where shadows fall more quickly and stay longer. It is he who mounts, above the shadow, over-shone by a light we cannot see, his head whitening with the foregleam. From that high station he can look afar; he can survey the past; all the fields he wrought in; all that toiled and loved with him.

But not to look back alone. Forward, whither his steps tend, his gaze most rests. He sees into the coming years; into the promised fields. There he will meet the great and loved ones gone before him, but, if any utterance is permitted enfranchised spirits, he will receive also the greeting of the after generations as they shall come, helped thitherward by his deeds and his example. More blest than Moses; for he shall enter into the "fair distant lands" which the earth has in store for man, by the power of all he has done to help forward all good works and lives. Well has it been said for human consolation that "He who lives for others, lives again in others."

And we will cherish him henceforth in love and awe the more, now that his years have reached that consummate number which in the celestial symbolism the mystic twelve and the hallowed seven have blended to fulfill. Whatever that may portend, whether some loftier consecration, or some rare, transfigured earthly form, we pray that our eyes may long, lovingly behold.

The President, in apt words of welcome and congratulation, then introduced the honored guest of the society, Prof. Packard, who was received with applause.

PROF. PACKARD'S REPLY.

Mr. President: — I could not be more surprised, than, when I saw in the press notice of the July meeting of the Society mention of the action which has brought us together this evening. I would express my most grateful acknowledgment for the compliment and honor thus done me. When the late eminent Dr. Guthrie, one of the brilliant ornaments of the Scotch church of Edinburgh, on retiring from the pulpit in consequence of ill health, received a testimonial from the churches of Scotland, he wrote a friend, "I suppose some may think that this has blown me up. But no, it has caused me humiliation." In myself, so far from elation by this notice of the Society, and the circumstances which have attended it, I have felt deep humiliation. I cannot attribute all this to what I have done, that falls so far short of any promise or expectation which such opportunities as I have had would have justified, but to the fact that through divine blessing, my quiet, uniform manner of life and a firm constitution, almost exempt from sickness or infirmity of any sort have brought me to what is considered advanced years. Not to deeds, but to years I owe this distinction.

Human lives, considered in their earthly relations, may be regarded in two aspects, that of anticipation — looking ahead — and that of retrospection — looking back. The child is ever hoping to reach his teens. The Roman boy anticipated with desire, when, at fifteen or sixteen he should throw down the *prætexta* and before the prætor, with public ceremonials, surrounded by family and friends, assume the *toga virilis.* None of us can forget the important era in our lives, when we cast our first ballot, and so asserted our claim to citizenship and to the rights of a freeman of the Republic and a voice in the nation, and then we look forward to the year when we can represent town, or district or state in the legislature or in congress, so far always looking forward — ever inclined to increase our score of years. We now enter on a period not so definitely marked, when we are less disposed to overcast our years. You remember that in the revolution there was a region above New York on the Hudson, called the Neutral ground. The traveler was required to answer whether he was from up or down. Much depended on the reply, and there was often doubt whether a true answer was given.

So in the circuit of our years we enter on what, in regard to age, may be termed a neutral ground — a zone of uncertainty — we are not quite sure of definite results. Napoleon was informed that among the ladies of his court there was a difference, as to which should precede in a court ceremonial. That was a question of rank, and might require search of state or family record — in England a study of Burke's Peerage or the Heraldic Journal, perhaps the exploration of the one hundred or more folios of the Record commission. The emperor thought he would settle the difficulty, and ordered that the eldest should precede. It did not settle the case at all. There was at once great hesitation — deference and holding back. No one was willing to assume the dignity and honor

of being the oldest lady in the court circle. Some years ago a witness was placed on the stand in court in this city. The counsel, for reasons best known to himself, was urgent to ascertain the age of the witness, but his skill could not extort a definite reply. Judge Mellen suggested, that it might answer, if she should be put down as of "no particular age."

In due time, however, in spite of dissimulation and any contrivance of ours, age gives decided indications that it is near at hand. The eye becomes less prompt and definite. We repair to the oculist shyly, not that we are growing old, but by incaution we have abused the organ. For a time gray hairs are here and there upon us, and we know it not; but we at length, to our chagrin perhaps, detect the intrusion. We are consoled by what Herbert Spencer has recently affirmed, that, as one effect of the hurry, restlessness and worriment of American life, gray hairs with us appear ten years earlier than on European heads. He is a man of wide observation, a philosopher; and, though we reject some of his philosophy, we will take that as true science. It might be a good thing to get up a testimonial to him, gratefully acknowledging his discernment in this matter. We often admire the almond tree flourishing over heads and forms too young for such flowering, still brilliant in their beauty, and active and graceful in movement as ever. We honor them who have allowed nature her own way, not interfering by any art or contrivance. Years roll on and we cannot stay their course. Herbert Spencer questioned the wisdom of the New York constitution which judged it unfitting for its chancellor, even though he were a Kent, to hold office beyond his sixtieth year. Our own state draws the "death-line" of the supreme bench at seventy years. I will not affirm it, but that zone of uncertainty may reach even to that borderline; the reticence and reserve on the troublesome question of age may even there manifest itself. But, ordinarily, we become less sensitive — are more frank and explicit — even, it may be, take some pride in our years. I received a letter a few years ago from a friend, who subjoined to his signature, "at the age of eighty-five." He held no reserve.

But we, however, do not welcome the advent of age. This is not unnatural. When we reach this "snowy summit of our years," we know that we shall then descend the farther hillside of life; our sun is westering, our shadows lengthen, and we can look not far down where the shades of evening are gathering. Poetry from Homer down deepens the impression of infirmity, decay, decrepitude we attach to old age. Holy Scripture teaches us: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be forescore, yet is their strength labor and sorrow," and so the Preacher in Ecclesiastes reminds us of the days when "the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and those that look out of the windows be darkened, and they shall be afraid of that which is high, and

fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail."

You recall the seven ages of human life as characterized by Shakespeare. The sixth age "shifts into the lean and slippered pantaloon, with spectacles on nose and pouch on side," and the seventh ends, "In second childishness and mere oblivion, sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything," not always verified in experience. The transition from age to age is not violent and sudden. Years roll on, but we hear no rumble; time has wings, but we hear no whir. "Our days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle," but they are noiseless. In ordinary health age steals upon us sandal, velvet-footed. The celebrated Dr. Chalmers of Scotland, when beyond sixty, said he often felt like a boy. A relative of mine, at eighty-four, told me that, when, in his chair he felt as young as at twenty-five. My father left unfinished a letter to Mr. Stephen Longfellow in as steady a hand, as consecutive in thought, as any written in earlier life, written a few days before his death, at the age of eighty-seven. On my eightieth birthday it was hinted that I might have callers. I accordingly donned my best array, and as I stood to receive, I will say frankly, that I felt as if I was acting a farce, and my friends were pleased to join in carrying out an illusion and a pretence. I just spoke of a period of anticipation. The aged have come to a period of retrospection — looking back.

There are compensations for those in advanced years. They have the privilege of thinking that former times were better than the present. From the hill-tops of life how vivid and near seem the scenes of early days. They cherish reminiscences. To refer to myself. It is pleasant to me to review my connection with this Society. I cherish the memory of most of its founders and its membership throughout, and what can I say of the reminiscences, very pleasant to me, of the seventy classes of the college that have passed under my eyes.

The world has little to animate hope or kindle desire for the aged. If believers, their best hopes — best for young as well as old — are beyond. The event of the evening may assure us that whatever of shadow may be cast upon them, advanced years have their sunny aspects also.

I may have seemed to speak with unbecoming levity of what is a most serious subject. I need not say that I feel most deeply the solemnity of treading the outermost verge of the seen. But a step; which must be very near for me, and the vast, immeasurable unseen is just beyond, and my first and greatest duty, as I hope I have realized in some measure for many years, is to be girded for that.

Let me add a word to the Society which has thus distinguished me, that whenever I enter this hall I recognize on these shelves the friends of many years. I felt a pang when they were removed from the college, but I congratulate the Society that the care of them has come into the custody of the enterprise, and skill, and tastes of younger years.

At the close of Prof. Packard's remarks, which were enthusiastically received, the following gentlemen spoke: —

HON. GEO. F. TALBOT.

Hon. Geo. F. Talbot followed in pleasant reminiscences of college days, with reference to the Bowdoin faculty, and Prof. Packard in particular, concluding with the assurance of the ultimate gratitude of those boys, who then seemed so indifferent to the efforts on the part of the tutors in their behalf.

WILLIAM GOOLD.

Mr. Goold said: I have jotted down some reminiscences of an excursion of our Society, which may call up pleasant memories in the mind of our guest, and perhaps of some others present.

My first acquaintance with our honored guest was made under very favorable circumstances. At the annual meeting in 1870, the society decided to make an excursion to York county, commencing at old York, the ancient shi re town and metropolis, when York county included the whole territory of Maine. Several of the prominent historical men of Massachusetts were invited to join in the field work. Those who accepted and attended, as far as I now recollect, were Mr. Charles Deane, the secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Mr. Charles W. Tuttle, whom we all remember with pleasure. They were both natives of York county. Mr. John H. Sheppard of Boston, and Mr. Frederick Kidder of Melrose. Of the Maine Society, were several who have now passed away. Hon. Judge Bourne, then president, who was a joy in himself in any company, President Woods, Dr. Ballard and Col. Benson, all of Brunswick, Mr. B. C. Bailey of Bath, and Mr. John A. Poor of Portland. These of our Society are now no more; what an array of genial gentlemen of historical taste and talent! Of the living members, and senior of them all in membership and years, except Judge Bourne, was our guest of this evening. It was there that I met him for the first time.

The first gathering of the party was at York, and nobly did her citizens acquit themselves. The first day was devoted to the usual August celebration of the landing of the Popham colony in 1607. The second day was spent in looking over the old town, and the objects and places of historical interest, which are numerous. The third day we were taken in carriages to Kittery. I first heard our present guest speak in an admirable brief address, returning the thanks of the party to Mr. Brown, who owned and occupied the Sparhawk house, built in 1742, by the son-in-law of Sir William Pepperell, for his polite attention during a visit to that elegant relic of the old-time mansions of the state.

At the meeting in the evening Professor Packard represented the Historical Society in an address to the people, thanking them for their generous hospitality. At the collation at the residence of Rev. Daniel

Austin, I think President Woods spoke for the guests present. Since then Mr. Austin has passed away. Mrs. Austin, I believe, was an English lady, and had inherited the splendid furnishings of an English mansion, including a large quantity of silver table ware. The table for our entertainment was set out entirely with silver and antique porcelain. Mr. Austin occupied an ancient house on the shore of the Piscataqua river. He and his wife had tried to make it as attractive as possible, and had succeded. No wonder that they took pleasure in showing it.

The party were in the evening taken across the river to Portsmouth in a navy yard steamer, tendered by the commandant, when we became the guests of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and were entertained at a breakfast next morning. Those who slept at the Rockingham House I am sure will not forget it. The three days occupied in that excursion will ever remain a bright spot in my memory.

The crowning work of Professor Packard's life is his History of Bowdoin College. His reminiscences of its founders, and the first board of its government, include nearly every prominent man of the then district of Maine. Those notes could not be furnished by any other living person. He is venerable not only for his age, but also for his works, for his genial manners, and his uniform kindness of his heart.

At the request of her father, Mrs. Abba Goold Woolson sent from her home the following sonnet: —

SONNET.

A. S. P.

I

The hero's brows in haughty triumph wear
  Full, rustling bays, which mortal fingers twine
  For valor's quick reward; but fairer shine
The laurels growing in that upper air,
Where none may wander free and none may tear
  One leaf for guerdon, till the gods design.
  Not every soul shall hear their call divine:
They beckon whom they will to enter there,
  Through death's dread portal, from the life below
But he alone is crowned with joy at last
  Who lived for others, seeking no renown.
Long may thy laurels ripen, ere thou go,
  Wise teacher of the generations past,
To pluck from them thine own appointed crown!

II

And when, at length, in that far altitude,
  Earth's echoes reach thee from remembered days,
  In one full chorus shall ascend the praise
Of glad hearts, conscious that whate'er of good
  And brave endeavor blest their eager youth,

Whate'er of steady vision cleared their gaze,
  Came from thy guidance, when, through doubtful ways,
Thy voice was wisdom, and thy counsel truth,
  And sweet as words all broken on the gale
From lips of friends, in final parting sent,
  While we sail out forever from their shore,
So sweet to thee in that embowered vale
  Where thou shalt dwell in endless calm content,
Will float these echoes from the friends of yore.

REV. DR. G. D. B. PEPPER.

Rev. Dr. Pepper, President of Colby University, commented briefly upon the mutual work of the two colleges, and in the name of Colby congratulated Bowdoin upon her having so honored a teacher as Prof. Packard, as well as the record of the college back of him. The frosts of age are on his head, but only these; in his heart is summer. Dr. Pepper touchingly referred to the fact of the little children running to meet the Professor, "to share the good man's smile."

PROF. HENRY L. CHAPMAN.

Prof. Chapman, an associate of Prof. Packard in Bowdoin, in a few remarks described the pleasant relations existing between them, and testified to the value of Prof. Packard's services, concluding with the following sonnet, written by him for the occasion:—

SONNET.

The kindly years — more kindly for the deeds
  That he hath daily wrought whose tranquil age,
  Disclaiming wisdom, still reveals the sage,—
Confirm the truth, enshrined in all the creeds
Inspired and uttered by our human needs,
  That who life's conflict worthily doth wage,
  With patient toil illuminates a page
Whose beauty is a boon to him that reads.
  Resting at length beneath the evening's glow,
  The healthful flush of victory on thy cheek,
The snowy wreath of reverence round thy brow,
  Of such a conflict, waged from long ago,
  The kindly years permit thy lips to speak,
And ours to answer with a "Long live thou."

HON. JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

Hon. Joseph Williamson of Belfast, spoke as follows: —

I wish to add a single leaf to the laurel which already crowns the brow of our revered associate. Such an old age as his, reached in the enjoyment of health, and in undiminished vigor of mind, would secure him honor and respect, were that his only claim. But this is not all.

We have the whole of his faithful and conspicuous career to look back upon with pride, and to remember how justly belongs to him the triple wreath of the professor, the scholar and the historian.

One of the greatest Latin poets has given a striking picture of the evils which usually attend a protracted life, including loss of relatives, failure of memory, decay of intellect, and physical infirmity. But excepting the first, we have none of these to regret for our honored friend. He is still active, and responsive to enjoyment: "his eye is not dimmed, nor his natural force abated." We rejoice that his days have been thus long in the land, and that what Victor Hugo so expressively calls "the youth of old age," has been vouchsafed him.

To our Society the present occasion has an appropriate interest. Professor Packard is its oldest member. He is the last survivor of those who watched over its infancy, and he has been permitted to see the feeble institution of sixty years ago expand, largely by his personal efforts, to prosperity and usefulness. His work has been thoroughly done, and now

——— good old age, released from care,
Journeying, in long serenity, away
In such a bright, late quiet,

has everything which renders it venerable and beautiful. "*Quia conscientia bene actæ vitæ, multorumque bene factorum recordatio, jucundissima est*, as Cicero remarks in *De Senectute*, is his. Affectionately remembered by the numerous alumni of the college, whose name is so inseparably connected with his own, and held in estimation as a constant and unwearied coadjutor in the objects for which our Society was formed, he remains an example to the young to seek for eminence by untiring industry, and of duty never left unperformed. And it is a pleasing tribute for us, in his presence, "to dwell upon a life so distinguished, so rich in praise, so crowned with honor, and which now in its close shines with the serene and tender light of the setting sun of a long summer's day."

The First Parish Church Quartette was present and sang several selections, including the following ode, written for the occasion by Edward H. Elwell: —

All honor to the faithful guide
Of generations gone,
Who led them on in Wisdom's ways
And still our youth leads on.

CHORUS—For him we raise the song, dear friends,
Of Auld Lang Syne,
For him we take the loving cup
Of Auld Lang Syne.

Though o'er his head fourscore and four
Have rolled the years gone by,
His youth from him has never fled,
He gives old age the lie.

CHORUS—For him, etc.

We have grown old while he grows young
In toil for others' needs,
No snow of age can quench the fire
That burns in all his deeds.

CHORUS—For him, etc.

Then here's our hand, our hearts withal,
And gie's a hand o' thine,
And blessings on thy head we call,
For Auld Lang Syne.

CHORUS—For thee we raise the song, old friend,
Of Auld Lang Syne,
For thee we take the loving cup
Of Auld Lang Syne.

The following extracts are from letters received by the Secretary in response to invitations sent to be present: —

BENJAMIN TAPPAN.

I trust that the life of Dr. Packard may yet be preserved many years as a benediction to the college with which he has so long been indentified, to the Maine Historical Society, to the church of Christ, and to the whole community.

I. P. WARREN.

Nothing surely could be more fitting than the honor thus paid to one who, for a period almost unparalleled in modern times, has served as he has the profession of letters and history, and at the same time adorned the character of a Christian gentleman.

GEORGE L. PRENTISS.

It is now half a century since I entered Bowdoin, and there saw Dr. Packard for the first time, and I can truly say that during all these fifty years he has been growing in my esteem and affection. I count his faithful friendship among the blessings of my life. Such a career as Professor Packard's is as beautiful as it is rare, and I think of him as one of the best educational institutions of my native state.

RUFUS K. SEWALL.

I find myself unable to meet with our Society in honor of our venerable associate, and my affectionately remembered teacher. May the Lord honor and bless him henceforward as in the past, and in full measure as he has been a blessing to his day and generation.

JOSIAH CROSBY.

I was the youngest member of my class, and I never shall forget the kind words of advice which Dr. Packard gave me in my Freshman year, on the occasion of some mischief done in the college. I believe they had a beneficial influence upon me during my whole college course and if so, why not through life?

GEN. J. P. CILLEY.

May his years still increasing render pleasant and honorable the college he loves, and may hope be realized that my son now entering the high school, may be the third of the name to be examined by him, and thus bring three generations under his instruction.

SAMUEL HARRIS.

I have always had a grateful remembrance of Dr. Packard for his kindness to me when in college, and greatly enjoyed my intimacy with him in late years when we were colleagues in the faculty of the college. Please give him my hearty congratulations.

EDWARD M. FIELD.

In a poem delivered in 1877 before the Bowdoin Alumni of this city, I made allusion to the venerable professor, in the following manner:—

There lingers yet a precious souvenir
Of those old days to love and memory dear;
The polished Packard, genial as of yore,
His lips with Christian courtesy running o'er,
A golden link between the dreamy past
And the wild hurry round the present cast;
A radiant gloaming in the western skies,
That pales in holier brightness as it dies;
Although for him nought lingers to combat
His aspirations all of heaven begot,
Serus — serus in cœlumredeat.

E. E. BEARDSLEY.

I have long known of Dr. Packard as a distinguished classical scholar, filling an important position in the faculty of Bowdoin College. A man whose life covers a period of more than fourscore years, and who has been useful in all, may be congratulated by his friends. He has had the rare privilege of the vast growth in this country of learning, science and history, poetry, philosophy, religion, wealth, civilization and national power.

A. S. PACKARD, JR.

It has been said that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," but the proposed action of the Society, composed as it is of so many of his friends and acquaintances in the state, is good proof that he is appreciated at his own worth, and has an unusual hold on the respect and affection of his own community. Whatever may be said by his friends in the way of congratulation at the good health and vigorous old age of my father, will, I may be pardoned for saying it, equally express the gratitude and pride felt by his children in his serene and happy old age.

WM. GAMMELL.

The exalted character of Dr. Packard, and the eminent services which for so many years he has performed for the interests of learning and religion command my admiration, and were it practicable, it would afford me very great pleasure in behalf of the Rhode Island Historical Society to unite with you in doing him honor on the eighty-fourth anniversary of his birth.

THOMAS C. AMORY.

I regret extremely that it will not be in my power to be in Portland on the 25th instant, to unite in the congratulation of the Society to Professor Packard and pay homage to his many claims to our veneration and esteem.

JAMES McKEEN, ESQ.

I very much regret my inability to go to Maine for this occasion. We all hope that many more birthdays are to intervene before he shall finally attain the snowy summit of his years.

JOSEPH PACKARD, D.D.

I regret that in consequence of the season of the year and the distance it will be out of my power to accept your invitation. The 23d of December will be also my 70th birthday so that I have to be careful of my health. It would give me great pleasure to meet the Historical Society on so joyful an occasion. I beg that they will accept my thanks for the honor thus conferred on my dear and only surviving brother.

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

How few men are permitted so long a life! How few to live so virtuous a one and so useful as he has. I regret that it will not be in my power to be present at the meeting and to see our dear friend once more.

CHARLES WELLS HAYES.

My acquaintance with Professor Packard, formed through an association in the work of the Historical Society, has been one of the great pleasures of my life, and will be a pleasant memory as long as memory lasts. I beg to add my most cordial congratulations to those of his friends who may be present on the commemoration of his eighty-fourth birthday.

S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE.

I send my kind wishes to you all.

ANSON TITUS, JR.

I regret that I cannot be present. I know the pleasure which will be in all the company. With greetings to all.

PAUL A. CHADBOURNE, LL.D.

As a student I wondered at Dr. Packard's learning, as his colleague in Bowdoin college I learned to honor him for his gentle firmness and Christian courtesy, and in all my personal intercourse I have found him a most valued friend. I congratulate him on the happy occasion, and I congratulate the Society on having such a member to honor.

EGBERT C. SMYTH.

So protracted and faithful a service as Dr. Packard's has few parallels. I recall but one instance in this country, that of Dr. Nott, president of Union College for sixty-two years. Another instance has been suggested from the annals of Oxford, where Dr. Russell presided over Mag-

dalen College during the period of sixty-three years. But permit me to remind your honored guest that the eminent Magdalen teacher did not put off his robes of office until his one hundredth year.

JOHN APPLETON.

My engagements render it impossible for me to be present, and I regret it the more that I cannot join with the friends and associates of Dr. Packard, in tendering to my early instructor and ever friend, congratulations on his vigorous health, on his youthful old age, for time seems hardly to have reached him, and on an honorable and useful life without spot or blemish.

CHARLES H. BELL.

It is fitting that some special mark of the general appreciation of his services and his character should be tendered him. As one interested in the field of historic research in which Dr. Packard has done so much to distinguish himself and to benefit his state and the community, I desire to offer him my sincere congratulations on the past and my best wishes for the future.

MARSHALL P. WILDER.

Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to take Dr. Packard by the hand once more and exchange congratulations with him, that both of us still live, and with the same number of years upon our heads.

Another circumstance which would add interest to this celebration is the fact that my beloved pastor is the nephew of your venerable guest. But at my time of life I am reminded that discretion is better than valor, and that I must husband my strength so as to make it go as far as possible, and therefore must say I cannot come.

B. F. DECOSTA.

I improve the occasion to express though very imperfectly, my sense of the degree in which Dr. Packard merits the proposed recognition, both in his connection with the Maine Historical Society and the world of letters and learning at large.

CULLEN SAWTELLE.

Please present to Professor Packard my most cordial congratulations upon the occasion to one I had known so well and loved so much in the days of my youth, and of whom I am so forcibly reminded at the present by the touching words of our dear departed Longfellow:—

> Honor and reverence, and the good repute
> That follows faithful service as its fruit,
> Be unto him, whom living we salute.

JOHN S. SEWALL.

Of all my teachers in college it was he whose daily instructions and still more whose daily life have left the most endearing influence upon my heart and life. I would not willingly miss the opportunity of being personally present, to add my testimony to that of others, but my en-

gagements at Bangor at that time are such as to confine me at home. Please convey to him my most earnest congratulations.

JOHN HODGDON.

I shall be with you in spirit but do not feel able to undertake so long a journey at this inclement season.

Well may we congratulate Dr. Packard upon the happy result of his long and arduous labors under the direction of our Alma Mater, and especially that he is permitted to meet the representatives of three generations trained for the battle of life during his connection with Bowdoin.

CHARLES P. ILSLEY.

Faithfully may it be said of him in the language of an old dramatist:—

> Age sits with decent grace upon his visage
> And worthily becomes his silver locks;
> He wears the marks of many years well spent
> Of virtue, truth well tried and wise experience.

Most heartily we congratulate him on the abundant possession of that

> Which should accompany old age
> As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends.

JOHN E. GODFREY.

This is not only Dr. Packard's eighty-fourth birthday, but it is the fifty-fourth year of his membership to the Society. All who were members at that time have long since joined

> the innumerable caravan

As it was in the days of Chaucer, so it is now,

> For though we slepe or wake
> Ay fleith the tyme it wil no man alyde

That one so worthy, so honored, so beloved, is still with us in the full enjoyment of life is a matter for sincere congratulation.

ISRAEL WASHBURN.

I shall not be able to attend the meeting in honor of Dr. Packard and am sorry enough that it so happens. But I shall consider myself there and hope the good Doctor will be so kind as to think he receives my hand and with it my best wishes. You may remember that an enforced absence in the Southwest kept me from the Longfellow meeting last February. But what grieved me most of all then, afflicts me now; I could not as I cannot, pay, by my personal presence the tribute of respect and honor due to one of the rarest and sweetest gentlemen of the age.

JOHN J. CARRUTHERS.

I sincerely regret that circumstances prevent for the present my attendance at any evening meeting, and that I must therefore forego the pleasure of meeting my honored friend, Dr. Packard, to whom I beg you to present my sincere and grateful congratulations.

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